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January — February, 1934

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

## The Price Complex and Fundamental Economics

Raymond V. McNally

## Federal Land Taxes in the United States

J. Edward Jones

### NEWS

The Schalkenbach Foundation — The Henry George Lecture Association

Manhattan Single Tax Club

Book Reviews — Correspondence

News Notes and Personals

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1934

No. 1

## Comment and Reflection

THERE can be no question that all classes of workers in America are being forced to a lower standard of living. This condition has been caused in large measure by the NRA, accentuated by the increase in municipal, state and federal taxation, and aided perhaps in slight measure by a somewhat higher level of prices for certain commodities. Wages generally show no tendency to rise and business profits for the small man are the lowest in history.

THIS is the condition after nearly a twelve month of Rooseveltian experimentation. Yet the administration policy remains almost unchallenged. In the almost sublime and simple faith of the people Roosevelt is still the Messiah. He can do almost anything and will try everything. What he does and tries to do out of the kindness of his heart he does with a charming laugh where perhaps tears would be more becoming. That laugh is growing a little annoying to the more serious minded. But in the general attitude of the people there is a symptom of slave-mindedness which is not a pleasant thing to contemplate.

HERE is the earth with its abounding resources which if freed to labor would raise wages in excess of anything we have ever known, where everybody would have enough, and there would be no unemployed. Yet we are asked to applaud if a few thousand of the millions out of work get a dollar a day, or where some of those employed receive a ten per cent increase! This for the abundance that might be theirs! It is a pitiful thing when a whole people go slave-minded!

IT was fortunate for a lot of professors that the era of social planning dawned, thus providing a field for invention. Before that it was necessary for them to think, and occasionally in terms of fundamentals. This was difficult and required some hard thinking. It was so much easier to juggle with the blocks than to study the law of their arrangement. Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Henry George had discovered certain fundamental principles—the professors might have elaborated from these, but that would have been too difficult, so they

are rejected or quietly ignored, while they talk in their foolishness of the failure of laissez faire, as if it had ever been tried.

AFTER the tremors and delusions of the present hysteria have passed it will be found that the earth is still solid—that old established principles remain. Of course the weakening of these principles, the responsibility for the new school of economic tinkering, must rest largely with the out-and-out defenders of things as they are. Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors did nothing to remedy the inequality of wealth-distribution. Either they did not see it or did not want to see it. It was this group who prepared the way for the monstrous experimentation which we are witnessing at the hands of the Tugwell-Moley-Berle rule of thumb.

IS it any wonder that the people laud President Roosevelt as the Messiah? For the first time in our history the party in power in this country has shown an inclination to remedy the ills of our economic life, to do something for the "forgotten man." How he came to be forgotten is a pertinent question. Nothing is said of the cause of his submergence. But remedies have been sought, and though they are fantastic enough, and though some are of doubtful constitutionality and are a dangerous approach to sovietism, socialism, and a dictatorship, partaking in various degrees of all of these, we may nevertheless applaud the motive and hope that out of this disposition to remedy evil conditions, something at last may come.

PROF. Rexford G. Tugwell says in the *Political Science Quarterly* for November: "There is no pre-arranged field of government which is set apart from those who are governed." This is sufficiently opaque, but read in connection with what follows it seems to mean that no design of government can meet permanently the needs of the governed. This is a denial that there is anything like a law of relation between government and the governed. He says: "These are trite declarations of principles," but we submit that he is denying the validity of any principles. He says again that "only a socialized industry can market its goods continually because, until it is socialized, it cannot join in the protection of demand."

REFERRING to the contention that these administrative changes are unconstitutional Prof. Tugwell says, "I strongly suspect that, for the most part, those who criticize them as unconstitutional, dislike them either because of meagre understanding or because some protected privilege will be exposed and abolished." There is a familiar axiom in legal practice which is taken advantage of by less conscientious attorneys that when you have no case you may resort to abuse of the opposing counsel.

IN an editorial under the title "Who Owns the Land" in *America* for Jan. 13, 1934, criticising Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Rexford G. Tugwell's address at Philadelphia on Dec. 29, appear these words "The right to hold property (land), despite the abuses to which it has been subjected, is inherent in man's nature."

*America* being one of our foremost Catholic organs, would it be amiss to quote from the source of all Christian religion?

"In the beginning God created the Heaven and the earth."—Gen. I:1.

"The sea is His, and He made it; and His hands formed the dry land."—Ps. XCV:5.

"For the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."—1 Cor. X:26-28.

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein."—Ps. XXIV:1.

"Behold, the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also, with all that therein is."—Deut. XI:14.

"The Heaven, even the Heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men."—Ps. CXV:16.

"Thus saith the Lord, the Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." "For all those things hath mine hand made."—Is. LXVI:12.

"The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."—Lev. XXV:23.

"Moreover the profit of the earth is for all."—Eccles. V:9.

TO which we may add the following from the greatest of the popes, Gregory the Great:

Those that make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day for want of it.

UNDER the N.R.A. and the Blue Eagle American industry is taxed as heavily as under Hoover, still pays as heavy tribute to predatory monopolies, is still barred by landowners from use of much valuable land and still pays for what land it may use by giving private individuals ground rent that belongs in lieu of taxes in the public treasury. What kind of "new deal" is this?

THE Brain Trust's next problem is how to tax liquor without giving bootleggers a chance to undersell legal dealers. The solution depends on discovery of the way to make two and two equal five. The Brain Trust holds that to be easy, declaring that eighteenth century mathematical principles have long become obsolete.

## Dinner to Mr. McNair

A DINNER was given to Mayor-elect McNair on Dec. 21 at the Town Hall in this city. About 200 were present and it was an occasion to be remembered.

Walter Fairchild was toastmaster and from start to finish kept his audience in good humor with amusing sallies. Before Mr. McNair began his talk there were three minute speeches from a dozen or more of our local Single Tax friends, including Anna George de Mille, Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Oscar Geiger, Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Hon. Edward Polak, Charles Johnson Post, Hon. Lawson Purdy, Bolton Hall, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron and others.

Mr. McNair told his hearers that he wanted to establish an advertising bureau to tell the nation about the tax advantages of Pittsburgh. "We have something to sell that no other city has," he said. He defended the Pittsburgh half-rate tax on improvements but was candid enough to admit that it had had no social effects. He spoke of the efforts he had in contemplation to extend the system and to take more and more land values.

He said in part: "I do not mean to say that Pittsburgh has escaped the depression, for she has not, but I believe she has suffered less from the depression than have many other cities. Her tax system, which assesses land values fifty per cent more than improvements, has softened for her the hardest blows of the depression."

The newly elected mayor of Pittsburgh created a decidedly favorable impression, and the dinner was one of the most pleasant held in recent years.

## High Land Rents and Slum Clearance

IN speaking before the National Public Housing Conference at Washington, Jan. 27, the *New York Times* reports Mrs. Roosevelt as follows:

"Mrs. Roosevelt said limited-dividend housing corporations had failed as a means of slum eradication because they were unable to set the rents at a low enough figure.

She declared that it was necessary to make the public feel that slum owners were 'bad citizens'.

The economic thing that makes low-cost housing difficult is that most people have looked on their land, not as a source of regular income, but as an investment on which they would make a great deal of money, Mrs. Roosevelt said."

THERE was once a President of the United States who, in fighting a depression, courageously insisted on immediate removal of its cause in spite of the bitter opposition of land monopolists, trust magnates and all their ignorant dupes.—BARON MUNCHAUSEN.

## The Price Complex vs. Fundamental Economics

**I**GNORANCE of fundamental economics has brought this country to a crisis in the struggle for recovery. Desperate attempts have been made and are being made to repeal the economic laws by government fiat. To such an extent has this been taking place that one cannot be censured for imagining that in the very near future an effort will be made to regulate the weather in order to help business. Evidently there is no limit to the power and ingenuity of human beings. One of the "Brain Trust" recently said that the theory that the law of supply and demand maintained the economic balance without regulation had been disproved by the depression. If that is so, why had it not been disproved by former depressions? We have had several in this country and the same phenomena had been observed in all of them. But the "Brain Trust" prefers to look upon the present depression as something entirely different, as having no similarity to anything that happened in the past.

The Agriculture Adjustment Act and the National Recovery Act have been wobbling badly and Administration officials have been very much worried. Not realizing that their plans are based on false principles and so were doomed to fail, they are surprised and perturbed by the results. Of course, they are doing their best to compile the most favorable statistics in order to impress not only the people but themselves as well. They criticized the previous administration for painting rosy pictures, but they have fallen into the same habit themselves. A muzzle was placed on the Federal Reserve Board for fear it would issue another unfavorable report. Interpretation of recovery statistics has been restricted to one central agency under the direct control of the President's own Executive Council.

The results of the government's plans could have been foreseen. As a matter of fact, they were foreseen by those who had not lost sight of fundamental principles. There was no need to experiment in order to know the general results. A well-known British economist and statesman, in an analysis of the recovery programme, wrote, "It (meaning the United States government) is not under the delusion that, in the intricate complexity of the modern industrial system, with a variety of economic forces interacting and pulling this way and that, it is possible to foresee what the precise outcome will be of each particular measure or even of the policy as a whole." This, of course is absurd. A proper knowledge of economic laws will permit one to predict the general result and frequently the precise result of economic measures.

The Administration officials have been suffering from such a terrible price complex that it has distorted their entire reasoning. By hook or crook, they mean to raise prices. They have a regular bag full of tricks. If one

trick does not succeed, it is an easy matter to dive into the bag and pull out another. While prices have risen considerably since March of this year, they have not reached the 1926 level—the level that will mean Utopia according to the Administration. For the farmers, this would mean an average rise from the March level of 130 per cent. Such a rise could not take place in a year under the most favorable circumstances. It did not happen during the war when other countries were forcing the farmers to the utmost to keep up with their demands. It could only take place through outright currency inflation.

But why should we go back to the 1926 level? All values have been lowered since that time and producers can afford to sell at lower prices today. Wages are lower, the cost of raw materials is lower and overhead expenses are lower. Farm prices of course fell lower than industrial prices. The reason for that is that industry curtailed production when prices fell, but the farmers increased production. Farm prices increased from March to July in a greater ratio than the prices of other commodities, but since July the situation was reversed. Nevertheless, the farmers' condition has improved but, according to the inflationists, it is not good enough.

The majority of the farmers are not complaining about low prices. Only those who are burdened with mortgages are suffering, because their incomes are not large enough to permit them to pay their taxes, interest and amortization. Those people who are obsessed with the price complex, believe that if prices rose to the 1926 level, debtors would be able to pay their debts. They assume that most of the debts were contracted in 1926. Before recovery can set in, debts, of course, must be liquidated. These debts were assumed largely in expectation of greater wealth-production. It is not necessary that these debts be liquidated in full before recovery can set in, but sufficient liquidation must take place in order to bring them in line with the productive power of industry or, in other words, in line with income. However, the process of liquidation has been steadily taking place through foreclosures, bankruptcies and compromise settlements. That these debts are nearing the proper level has been evidenced by signs of recovery which were first noticed at the end of May.

A great deal of the agitation for higher prices has been for the sake of the farmers whose farms are heavily mortgaged. These mortgages are being liquidated through foreclosure proceedings and eventually these farmers, while they will have been reduced to tenancy, will be in a position to produce, unhampered by heavy charges on their incomes. However, the purpose of the drive to raise prices is to enable the farmers to pay off their debts so they will not lose their farms. At first thought, this would seem to be prompted by a noble sentiment, but it is nothing of the sort. Why should these farmers be helped to hold on to farms that they never really owned? After they are foreclosed, they can operate as tenants at low

rents and their condition will be much better than before. The reason why they are so keen about holding on to these farms is because they expect to make a profit on them some day—not as farmers but as speculators. The motive behind the drive for higher prices then is not the desire to help legitimate farmers but the desire to help speculators at the expense of everybody else.

It is futile to prevent the trend toward tenancy in this country among the farmers by superficial measures. At the end of the last century, one-third of the farmers were tenants. Today, more than half are tenants. Farm lands are being concentrated more and more in the hands of a few people. If farmers or those who wish to help them were sincere in their desire that they should own their own farms as legitimate producers, they would demand removal of the fundamental cause of increasing tenancy—namely, land speculation that inflates the price of land and causes mortgages to pile up. Inflation of the currency by an outright issue of paper money would be disastrous to almost everyone, including speculators. Only a few lucky speculators would be able to benefit from it. The creditors as individuals probably outnumber the debtors as individuals. If prices of farm products were doubled, the prices of industrial products would also be doubled. There is no certainty that the prices of farm products would rise higher than industrial prices and that farmers would be able to pay off their debts. It is not higher prices that would pay off debts but higher incomes, and higher prices would not necessarily mean higher incomes. Inflation would lead to an orgy of speculation and even if some of the old debts were paid, new debts would be contracted. People would be encouraged to go into debt. Those living on wages, salaries and fixed incomes would be driven to the point of starvation. Incomes would not rise in the same proportion as prices, demand would fall off, production would be checked, bankruptcies would result, banks would fail and we would be plunged in to a worse depression. Then we would have to start all over again.

So long as farmers remain subjective in their demand for equality, they will not succeed. They must eventually realize that their conditions cannot be improved by penalizing all other groups of producers through price-fixing, process taxes, government purchasing of commodities and currency depreciation. The fundamental cause of their troubles is not peculiar to their cause but is at the root of all economic troubles. They should ally themselves with other producers in a common cause. Until they do this, their struggle for equality will be futile because it is based on stupidity and selfishness.

The farmers are not the only debtors. Farm mortgages in May were estimated to be only about seven per cent of the total amount of private and public debts which at that time were about \$134,000,000,000. The total amount of farm and urban mortgages were about 29 per cent of the total. The balance consists of debts owed by

life insurance companies, real estate companies, investment trusts and finance companies, public utilities, railroads, industrial concerns, states, municipalities and the federal government. The greater part of these debts were contracted because of inflated land values—values that were fictitious and which were dependent on greater wealth production. Such production could not have taken place for many more years. It depended on a great increase in population and a great increase in the invention and use of new machinery. The average business man's attention is directed toward land only when mortgages are involved or when funds are invested directly in land. When he invests in corporate securities, he does not realize that in most cases he is investing largely in land. The business analyst who takes the view that too much money was invested in fixed assets, considers land as just an asset and overlooks the fact that in the case of railroads, pipe lines, public utilities and many large industrial companies, land is the largest single asset. He does not appear to realize that public franchises, for instance, are land not only in the economic sense but in the legal sense. This type of analyst points out—and it is true—that as a business increases in size, the tendency to invest more and more in fixed assets, such as real estate and equipment, becomes greater. The interest charges on mortgages, bonds and long-term notes issued to finance this investment, and the depreciation charges on these assets finally eat into the net income when the expected increase in business does not materialize and receiverships and bankruptcies result.

The point that is involved, however, is this: While assets, such as buildings, equipment and fixtures depreciate in value from wear and tear and obsolescence, land rises in value during a period of increasing business activity. Therefore, increase in funded debts is limited by this tendency toward depreciation of assets like buildings, etc., but on the other hand, the tendency of land to rise in value encourages the building up of the funded debt. If we keep in mind the distinction between land and other tangible assets—these other assets being the product of labor and capital—we shall be able to see clearly the principal cause of the huge debt that has been burdening industry.

No one can do without land. In the economic sense, it consists of farm lands, timber lands, oil lands, coal and mineral deposits, rights of way, building sites and business locations. All producers depend on it, if only for standing room. Therefore, there is a constant demand for it and during a period of rising industrial activity, this demand increases because more land is needed. As the price of it rises, industry goes deeper and deeper into debt. This price cannot be brought down by producing more land as in the case of commodities. Its supply is limited and so its price continues to rise. Those who sell land will not let it go at its natural value but anticipate its future value. Those who issue bonds based on land assets, like the railroads and public utilities, also anticipate this future value. For a while, industry can absorb this increasing

burden but finally it eats into the returns to labor and capital. Labor and capital then cannot meet the charges on the mounting debt and at the same time exist. It is at this point that production is checked and the demand for land falls off, causing its value to drop.

As this debt is based largely on fictitious values, it must be liquidated by the wiping out of these values. The quicker this liquidation takes place, the nearer we come to recovery. Industry needs cheap land. All the artificial attempts that have been made to prevent liquidation or to slow it up have retarded rather than aided recovery. The Home Loan Corporation activities and the refinancing of farm mortgages, ineffectual as they may be, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have contributed in the attempt to retard or prevent liquidation. However, a great many people in this country want these values maintained so as to protect their equities or investments based on such values. Like a drowning man who grasps at a straw, they refuse to face realities. They refused to recognize the fact that these values have disappeared and so believe that if prices are raised to the 1926 level, these values can be saved. But as I said before, it is not higher prices that will pay debts but higher incomes. If all prices were artificially raised, incomes would not be increased except in a few individual cases. A large supply of paper money thrown into the market by the government would not increase production and employment as the inflationists claim. There would be no gain in the general purchasing power of the community, for the existing currency and bank deposits would depreciate in value. The community would actually be poorer because the additional money would not represent a corresponding increase in real tangible wealth but a claim on wealth. It would have the same effect as a tax on the community. In the last analysis, commodities are exchanged for commodities but in this case commodities would be exchanged for something that did not represent commodities. If the prices of some commodities were artificially raised, as in the case of farm products, the producers of those commodities would receive higher incomes only temporarily because they would have been secured at the expense of the community. Prices would eventually fall again. Prices can only rise as a result of increased demand. It is low prices that increase demand, not higher prices. Individual producers should endeavor to keep prices as low as possible until the demand increases thru the increased ability of people to produce, or in other words, through increased employment, and then prices will rise naturally.

The drive by the Administration for higher prices has produced some strange inconsistencies. When prices rose under the NRA programme, for instance, a warning issued from Washington that they should not rise too high. This is difficult to reconcile with the effort to raise prices to the 1926 level by buying gold here and abroad at steadily increasing prices. The President's gold policy has caused a great deal of confusion and uncertainty. Business men

have been timid about making commitments or have planned their operations according to erroneous ideas of what the results would be. A great deal of this confusion has been due to ignorance of fundamental principles. While I do not consider the money question as important as some people make it out to be, currency tinkering retards business and I think it might be wise to clear up some of the false impressions regarding it. It is these false impressions that cause the money problem to be over-emphasized.

The popular belief is that if the value of gold is increased, the dollar depreciates in value and prices rise. Thus, some business men have been inclined to hold on to their stocks of merchandise believing that in doing so they were making a good investment. This belief is based on the idea that our paper currency in some mysterious fashion derives its value from the gold reserves that have been available for its redemption. But value is not a fluid that can be absorbed by material objects. Since we left the gold standard, our currency has not been redeemable in gold but yet our paper currency still has value. The value of our paper currency is its purchasing power. Its value in terms of gold has no bearing on its value in terms of other commodities. An increase in the supply of currency in circulation in relation to the supply of commodities in the market would raise prices. However, comparatively little gold has been bought and therefore the increase in the number of dollars in circulation has been too trivial to affect prices. While the value of the gold reserves in the banks has increased and has put the banks in a position to issue more currency and credit, this can only be done in response to the legitimate demands of industry. Industry, however, will not avail itself of this privilege until business improves. Prices, therefore, will not rise except very slightly and then only temporarily due to psychological reasons.

While the dollar has not depreciated in value in terms of commodities inside the country, it has depreciated on foreign exchanges because of its depreciated value in relation to the value of gold. Gold is not used in domestic trade to any extent, but it is used to settle foreign trade balances. When the dollar depreciates in terms of gold, it also depreciates in terms of other currencies, because gold is the standard by which the value of these other currencies is measured. The claim is made that world prices will rise in terms of the dollar and the result will be to raise prices in this country. This is not true. Prices could only rise if the demand for these world commodities exceeded the supply, and there is no indication of that at the present time. It is also claimed that we would gain an advantage in foreign trade. The advantage we would gain would be only temporary. Exports would tend to increase, but, on the other hand, imports would tend to decline. As exports are paid for with imports, our advantage would not last very long. Furthermore, it is not at all certain that we would gain even a temporary

advantage except in raw products. Other countries could buy our raw goods cheaper than before and could sell finished products in other markets cheaper than we could. Failure to recognize these facts led a British economist, considered by many people to be the greatest in the world, to predict that when Great Britain went off the gold standard in September, 1931, prices inside that country would rise and she would gain an advantage over other countries in export trade. Experienced proved this prediction wrong and he later admitted his error. This error would never have been made if he had not lost sight of fundamental economic principles in his intense concentration on a mere medium of exchange. Facts are proving more and more every day that what controls prices is not the supply and demand of money but the supply and demand of commodities. One famous individual, who is more of an orator than an economist, recently demanded to know how business could improve unless the supply of money was increased. Evidently he believes this country of ours was built up with money.

While the gold policy is not as dangerous as most of its critics have claimed, it is futile as a means of raising prices. These critics say that it will destroy government credit and compel the government to issue greenbacks in order to finance its various recovery undertakings. But why should investors lose confidence in federal bonds? They would lose confidence in federal bonds if they thought that the currency would so depreciate in value that the income from these bonds would be smaller in purchasing power and that their market value would fall as a result. If the dollar depreciated, people would be more inclined to speculate than to invest. Believing that it would was the principal cause—it was purely psychological—of the recent drop in the value of federal bonds. Most of the false ideas about money could be avoided if people had a proper conception of value. When they realize—and they eventually will—that prices of commodities will not rise as a result of dollar manipulation, the federal bond market will be strengthened. England's experience bears this out. The government then will not be compelled to issue fiat money. If greenbacks are issued, it will be done deliberately because of the insane desire to raise prices to the 1926 level. Then government credit would be destroyed.

The depression was not due primarily to monetary causes and so no monetary policy of itself will promote recovery. Artificially raising prices will not bring about recovery. Only by increasing the natural opportunities for employment can purchasing power increase and business improve. However, arbitrarily raising wages, as was done under the NRA, does not increase the general purchasing power. Money wages have risen but real wages have not. The new liberal economics that is being taught embraces the theory that wealth must be decentralized for the general welfare. Too much wealth is held as capital, it is claimed, so that labor cannot buy back

its own products. Capital is considered as something that is sterile. This idea ignores the dynamics of capital production. Capital is active and is constantly going through a process of transformation. Funds used for capital are part of the country's purchasing power.

Raising wages before the productive power of labor and capital increases, only raises the cost of production, so that there is no gain in purchasing power. High wages are the result of low cost of production and low wages are the result of high cost of production. Establishing minimum wages, shortening the hours of labor and restricting the use of machinery, increase the cost of production, curtail production and tend to lower wages in the aggregate. This tendency can be counteracted only by an increase in the productive power of labor that will make up for the raising of wages and the shortening of hours. Such increase in productive power depends of course on the free use of machinery. A natural rise in wages due to the increased demand for labor would not increase the cost of production because such a rise would proceed from greater productiveness with the same amount of labor and capital in the same number of hours. The amount of wages paid per unit would be less, but the total amount of wages paid would be more.

The idea that concentrated wealth should be distributed among the masses in order to increase the general purchasing power is behind the public works programme. It is based on the false theory that distributing the same amount of money among more people increases the demand for commodities. Public relief projects, while they help the individuals employed on them, must be paid for by industry. Thus, the increase in employment that results is secured at the expense of those who are now employed. There would be no gain in the total demand for commodities and of course prices would not rise. These projects are financed by bond issues. These bonds are bought with funds that are taken from industry and that go back into industry when construction of these various projects get under way through the purchase of supplies and materials and the payment of wages. Then in order to pay the interest and to retire these bonds, industry will be taxed. Industry is really lending money for the purchase of its own products and then paying itself back through the medium of taxes. Relief projects are a polite method of placing the unemployed on a dole.

A great many of these projects are being undertaken by the local governments. Grants and loans are made to them by the federal government. The indebtedness of these local governments is being increased as a result. Thousands of municipalities are almost insolvent and it does not seem very wise to add to their debts which are said to amount to about \$18,500,000,000. Furthermore, new issues would tend to depress still further the market value of municipal bonds.

Some of these public undertakings are self-liquidating. While they will have to be financed by bond issues, this

will not necessarily mean additional taxes. However, for the present, it will entail the transfer of funds from industry. If the banks absorb the bonds, their position will be less liquid and this will result in restriction of credit to industry. In order to make these projects self-liquidating and self-supporting, tolls will have to be levied on industry. This will result in increasing the cost of production of commodities or reducing profits. While the purchasing power of those who are given jobs on these projects would be increased, the purchasing power of everybody else would be curtailed and there would be no general gain—if anything, there would be a loss.

Although some of these public works, both self-liquidating and non-liquidating, would aid in wealth production by increasing the productive power of labor and capital, the benefits resulting from this increase would be absorbed by the increase in the value of land, not only adjoining these projects but all over the country. A rise in land values naturally follows renewed industrial activity and it takes some time before it overtakes the rise in wages and interest on capital. However, in the case of public works, the increase in land values would be anticipated. Therefore, the rise in land values would precede and not follow renewed activity. There is a strong possibility then that industry would be strangled before it could get started. The only gainers would be land speculators. Producers would be hampered because they would have to pay higher prices and rent for land than they do now. Not only that, producers would be compelled to pay double tribute for the same thing. They would have to pay higher prices and rents for land made more valuable by these relief projects and on top of that would have to pay tolls for the various services rendered by them. Many of them would be forced to stop producing, resulting in increased unemployment and lower wages, or would be shunted off on to inferior land where they could barely make a living. The situation would be further aggravated by some speculators holding land out of use entirely, waiting for a greater rise in its value—land that is required for production. More unemployment would result, for unemployment is only the inability of labor to apply itself to land, the source of all wealth. Most people are engaged in the extractive industries, and the rest, who need land for business sites, are engaged in modifying and shaping natural products to make them suitable for the satisfaction of human desires or in rendering services of various kinds to those who do the actual producing of wealth. The Secretary of the Interior recognizes the obstacle to production that inflated land values present because he warned speculators not to demand too high prices for the land that is needed by the Public Works Administration. If it is true in the case of relief projects, it must be true in the case of all production. Futile as his warning is, it is at least significant of the fact that the Administration has some glimmering of the part that land plays in our economic life.

It must also be pointed out that not only the federal government but the municipalities would be forced to purchase land at inflated prices. According to a report issued recently by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., land speculation was the primary cause of the financial embarrassment of most cities. A rise in land values of course would temporarily benefit life insurance companies, savings banks and building loan associations; but as long as production was impeded, there would be no general prosperity.

When we consider all of these facts, is it any wonder that public construction for relief purposes failed in both Germany and Great Britain to bring back prosperity? We cannot borrow ourselves out of a depression. Recovery can only proceed from liquidation of debts, not from the piling up of debts.

Most business men have been puzzled by the postponement of recovery because they did not know the fundamental cause of the depression. Consequently, they looked to the government for some solution, believing, rather foolishly, that it should be more intelligent than they were. If the Administration has adopted measures that do not meet entirely with their approval, the responsibility lies not with the Administration but with these business men who had refused to think seriously about social and economic problems.

Recovery, of course, will take place eventually whether we do anything about it or not, through the gradual liquidation of debts, making it easier for men to produce. It can be speeded up, however, by lightening the burden of taxation on industry as much as possible and increasing the opportunities for the employment of labor and capital by giving them greater freedom of access to natural agents. As we regard the situation of today, we should do so with the future in mind. When this country finally emerges from the depression, most people will forget what really caused it—if they ever knew. But this they should keep in mind: As recovery takes place, the foundation is being laid for another crisis. Therefore, in considering remedies for the present situation, they should bend their efforts towards removing the fundamental weakness in our economic system which is the principal reason for our huge, internal debt—namely, land speculation.

RAYMOND V. McNALLY.

THE Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children is neglecting its job when it allows foolish parents to name helpless babies "Nira" after the National Industrial Recovery Act. When these infants become old enough to realize what it is all about the true character of that measure will be generally known and the poor kids may be mercilessly taunted for a name that stands for "Nutty Idiotic Roosevelt Accomplishment." It is bad enough that babies are doomed to be born into a world where they are robbed of their right to the earth. Why should they bear the additional burden of being branded with the name of a fake effort to remedy that crime?

## Federal Land Taxes in the United States

IS the present Federal Constitution broad enough to permit Congress to enact a Federal Single Tax? Have we ever had a Federal tax on land values? Would the procedure for valuation and collection be so involved as to discourage the plan?

Paragraph 3, Section 2, of Article I, U. S. Constitution contains the following: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." Paragraph 4, Section 9, of the same article, provides: "No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

Reference to the Debates of the Constitutional Convention fails to show why direct taxes were required thus to be apportioned. However, in the fifty-fourth number of the *Federalist*, Alexander Hamilton explains it. He shows that the rule for apportionment of members of the House of Representatives among the States and for raising direct taxes is the same. Commenting on the fact that the rule is not founded on the same principle in each case, he says: "In the former case, the rule is understood to refer to the personal rights of the people, with which it has a natural and universal connection. In the latter, it has reference to the proportion of wealth, of which it is in no case a precise measure, and in ordinary cases a very unfit one. But notwithstanding the imperfection of the rule, as applied to the relative wealth and contribution of the States, it is evidently the least exceptional among those that are practicable, and had too recently obtained the general sanction of America, not to have found a ready preference with the Convention."

We may agree that population is an unfit measure of the proportion of wealth and the contribution of the States. Yet we know that natural opportunities for the production of wealth have not been showered equally on all the States. Since men do tend to congregate and rear families where opportunity exists, there may be more reason for this as a basis for a tax on land monopoly than at first appears. Since all economists of repute agree that that land ownership is a monopoly, justice does not require that a tax on land values be laid as accurately as one on wealth, which is a product of labor. Certainly much less injustice is done Labor and Industry by using this as a test than by using other present methods of taxation. A comparison of the 1930 census of the U. S. with the 1930 valuation of real property (land values alone are not given) in the 1932 Statistical Abstract p. 205, will show

that the test is usable. If we want a better test, namely that of land values, we can amend the article.

Historically, it is interesting to note that Congress has levied taxes on land values in the United States, under the present Constitution, on five different occasions. This occurred in 1798, 1813, 1815, 1816, and 1861. The fact that recourse was had to this tax at the beginning of our financial history and in two war periods would appear to show its value in times of emergency.

The legislation of 1798 may be considered typical. In addition, it was adopted by men who actually wrote the present Constitution or were contemporary leaders in its framing and adoption. These men were familiar with the revenue schemes of the States of this period and the basis underlying them. A study of the two laws passed in 1798, then, should be a practical, inductive source of the interpretation of these Constitutional provisions. The first Act is entitled, "An Act to provide for the valuation of Lands and Dwelling Houses, and the enumeration of Slaves within the United States." 1 St. at Large p. 580. The second is entitled, "An Act to lay and collect a direct tax within the United States." 1 St. at Large p. 597.

Referring to the first Act, the "Act to provide for the valuation and Dwelling Houses," etc., we find procedure for valuation. Each State was divided into Divisions for purposes of valuations, and a Commissioner was appointed for each Division. The Commissioners of each State then met in a state-wide convention and divided their respective Divisions into suitable and convenient number of assessment districts, within each of which one respectable freeholder was appointed principal assessor, and a sufficient number of assistants to carry the Act into effect. The Commissioners, at this meeting, were to prepare regulations and instructions for the assessors.

The assessors, under the direction of the Commissioners, were to inquire after value and enumerate dwelling houses, lands and slaves in the following manner: Every dwelling house *above the value of one hundred dollars*, with the out-houses and the lot on which such buildings were located not exceeding two acres, was to be valued at the rate such property was "worth in money with a *due regard to situation*." All other lands and town lots, were to be "valued by the quantity, either in acres, or square feet, as the case may be, at the average rate which each separate and entire tract or lot is worth in money, in a due relation to other lands and lots, and *with reference to all advantages, either of soil or situation*," etc. Other sections of the Act provide details as to form, penalties etc. (Italics are mine throughout).

In the second Act, the "Act to lay and collect a direct tax," etc., it is provided that "a direct tax of two millions of dollars \* \* \* is laid upon the United States, and apportioned to the States respectively, in the manner following:"

(Figures in thousands of dollars).

|               |               |             |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| N. H. \$ 77.7 | N. J. \$ 98.3 | Ky. \$ 37.6 |
| Mass. 260.4   | Penn. 237.1   | N. C. 193.6 |
| R. I. 37.5    | Del. 30.4     | Tenn. 18.8  |
| Conn. 129.7   | Md. 152.5     | S. C. 112.9 |
| Ver. 46.8     | Va. 345.4     | Ga. 38.8    |
| N. Y. 181.6   |               |             |

By referring to the 1930 U. S. Census figures on the populations of these States, we may compare the proportions these States would now pay. For example, New York, with a population four times as large as North Carolina would pay four times as much of the tax as North Carolina, whereas in 1798 North Carolina paid more than New York.

The Act further provided that the tax should be assessed on dwelling houses, lands and slaves, according to the valuations and enumerations provided for in the first statute above referred to, and "in the following manner: Upon every dwelling house which, with the outhouses appurtenant thereto, and the lot whereon the same are erected, not exceeding two acres \* \* \* \*, shall be valued in a manner aforesaid, at more than one hundred, and not more than five hundred dollars, there shall be assessed in the manner herein provided, *a sum equal to two-tenths of one per centum on the amount of the valuation.*" \* \* \*. If the value was between \$500 and \$1,000, the tax rate was increased to three-tenths of one per cent; if between \$1,000 and \$3,000, to four-tenths of one per cent; if between \$3,000 and \$6,000, to five-tenths of one per cent. In like manner the rate was likewise increased so that properties worth \$30,000 or more were taxed at the rate of one per cent of the value. Each slave was arbitrarily taxed 50 cents.

The Act then provided, "And the whole amount of the sums so to be assessed upon dwelling houses and slaves within each State respectively, shall be deducted from the sum apportioned to each State, and the remainder of the said sum shall be assessed upon the lands within each State, *according to the valuations* to be made pursuant to the act aforesaid, and at such rate per centum as will be sufficient to produce the said reminder." Other sections provide details.

Considering the above statutes, we find: First. Congress did not levy the tax on land considered by area, but rather on land value. Second. Congress chose to classify lands into two classes: lands with dwelling houses, and lands, including town lots, not so improved. This illustrates the power of Congress to classify lands and land values or any other species of monopoly or property for taxing purposes. Should Congress decide to exempt buildings and other improvements or homes and farms under a certain value, it has the power to do so. Should it decide to tax deposits of minerals or urban land, site value or land value in general, it may. Third. Not only was the tax placed on land values, but the rate was progressive. This out-Georges the Georgists. This method, perhaps,

is the answer to the much heralded doctrine of "ability to pay." It permits a heavier rate on a vacant or inadequately improved lot worth \$10,000 than on one worth \$100. Fourth. Most singularly, Congress left the rate on lands and city lots without dwelling houses to be set by a contingency; i.e. at a sufficient rate to raise the remainder of the money needed. This proves that it is not necessary that every detail in the procedure and results of taxing land values need be known in advance. Application of this plan permits a uniform rate to be levied on land values of sites adequately improved or used, in all the States, with a provision that the remainder of the quota of each State be raised by a tax rate sufficient, when applied to vacant or inadequately used lands or other natural resources, to raise the amount. The fact that the last named rates are not uniform in all States is not a substantial objection, because they are applied against monopoly and sloth and not against industry. Fifth: The Act illustrates the old American custom of penalizing home owners to help speculators in lands and city lots, by making possible a lower rate on these last than the rates on lands improved with dwellings. This is not the result of a taxation of land values but rather on the method used in this particular Act.

Hence, the writer concludes that a Federal Single Tax is permissible; if not the only tax, why should it not be used to take the place of some of the numerous taxes on labor products?

It is submitted, however, that the requirement of apportionment cannot be evaded by levying the tax on the privilege of owning or using land, as probably could be done in England. English land titles are based on the feudal system with the King as absolute owner, the occupiers holding possession of various estates subject to the duty of rendering rent or services in return to the King. The theory in the U. S. is that the rights of the King at the time of the Revolution were acquired by the people of the several States. Public lands west of the Alleghanies were ceded by these States to the Federal government, which in turn granted titles to settlers. The courts generally have held, since we never had feudal tenure here, that the government conferred absolute ownership or "allodial" titles, i.e. titles free from rent or service and opposed to feudal holding. Although this is the general view, it is subject to criticism at least in the case of titles in the original thirteen States, in which the titles theoretically, at least, were in the King of England until the Revolution. Feudal tenure with its duties was not abolished in England until 1660, and in those original States which accept the Common Law existing up to 1607, considering the taking of title by the Cabots in the name of the King, the rule would seem to be wrong.

Furthermore, the U. S. Supreme Court has held that the question of whether a tax is a direct tax (requiring apportionment) is to be determined not by the theories of economists alone but with regard to historical consideration.

Granted that the ownership and use is in justice a privilege, yet ownership of land has been considered by such monopolists as Lord Coke and other builders of our legal concepts as a sacred right of property. Federal judges, backed up by a public opinion which has not considered these questions, would probably hold the tax on the privilege a direct tax. When civilization has a keener sense of justice and a better understanding of privilege, then it will not make any difference about this problem. We will do away with such restrictions and see to it that our governments have power to provide revenues by legitimate means.—J. EDWARD JONES.

## Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

WITH the death of Mr. Byron Holt on Dec. 11, 1933, three vacancies existed in the membership of the Foundation. Mr. Pleydell had passed away in May, 1932, and Mr. Charles T. Root had resigned recently because he planned to spend part of each year on the west coast.

At a meeting of the trustees on January 19, it was announced that nominations had been received for the three vacancies, and that the names of Mr. Raymond V. McNally, Mr. Henry George Atkinson, and Mr. Albert Pleydell (son of the late Arthur C. Pleydell), had been placed in nomination by Mr. Purdy, and seconded by many members of the Board. An election was held and these gentlemen were duly elected members and trustees of the Foundation.

John J. Murphy who served as vice-president since 1927, stated that he would be glad to stay upon the board of trustees, but that he was resigning as vice-president. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Murphy for his generous and untiring services to the Foundation.

Mr. Philip H. Cornick was nominated for the office of vice-president, and upon vote, duly elected as vice-president of the Board.

Mr. Hennessy stated that since no president had been elected he would continue to serve as president, and hoped to devote an increasing amount of time to the plans and work of the Foundation. At the same meeting, the secretary was given the office of executive secretary.

A very pleasant evening followed, on January 20, at the Hotel Holley, Washington Square, where dinner was served to thirty-eight guests who joined the trustees of the Foundation in welcoming Messrs. McNally, Pleydell, and Atkinson to the board. Mr. Hennessy presided, and explained the educational nature of the work carried on by the Foundation; how, in 1926, the books of Henry George were almost out of print and how over a period of years they had been published and distributed by the Foundation; how other appropriate literature was prepared and circulated, and how by advertising within the modest limits available to the Foundation, thousands of

people became acquainted with the writings of Henry George, and were from that point led on to active work for the Georgist Cause.

Lawson Purdy spoke, and then the three new trustees addressed the guests in turn. Mr. Hennessy also introduced the wives of the three trustees to the group.

Among the many interesting guests of the evening was Henry George III, of Wilmington, who spoke briefly of his renewed interest in the work that is being done.

Mrs. de Mille, Mr. Cornick, Mr. Stephens and Mr. Fairchild were among the trustees who made speeches of welcome to the new members, as did Mr. Geiger and Miss Schetter. Mr. Hennessy concluded the evening's proceedings with two amusing Irish landlord stories. Besides those mentioned above, there were present Mr. and Mrs. Albert Firmin, Mr. and Mrs. McDowell, of Tennessee; Mr. Harry Weinberger, Mr. Otto Dorn, Mr. Harry Maguire, Mr. Leonard, Mr. Bell, Mr. Egan, Mr. G. H. Atkinson, Mr. Roger Stephens, Mr. Donald Stephens, Mr. Ware, Mr. Hendrickson and guest, Mr. Hellyer and guest, Mr. Buttenheim, Mrs. Geiger, and Mr. Joseph Dana Miller.

The secretary reported to the Board that since the inventory date, May 1933, 3,000 books have been distributed; 27,500 pamphlets and 30,000 or more pieces of advertising.

Two new advertisements of the pamphlet "Moses" have been inserted by the Foundation in *The American Hebrew* and *The Young Judaeon*, as an experiment in attracting the interest of Jewish men and women in Henry George's famous lecture. A special letter is written to each inquirer who answers the advertisement, and the reading of "Progress and Poverty" is suggested. The results thus far have been encouraging.

Orders from bookdealers continue to come to the office daily, showing that there is a background of interest outside the Single Tax ranks, in Henry George's books. The two most popular titles are: "Progress and Poverty," and "Social Problems." In a campaign among bookdealers, 350 books were sold from September to date, at a circularizing cost of \$47.

A Christmas letter and folder explaining the books available, and offering special rates for quantity gift orders, was sent to 5,000 people on our main list, early in December, and also to some 2,000 additional special names. About 330 books were sold including 36 copies of "The Philosophy of Henry George." We would like to remind readers that those who buy books or pamphlets from the Foundation are really making a contribution to the general progress of the cause, as all monies taken in are spent for further publication, or for definite propaganda activities, which increase the Foundation's scope and usefulness.

A special letter to 166 librarians in Pennsylvania has been sent, enclosing the pamphlet "Steps to Economic Recovery," and suggesting that there might be more of

a demand for Henry George's books, in view of the publicity given to Mr. McNair, the new mayor of Pittsburgh. It is planned to interest the bookstores in Pittsburgh, and we acknowledge in this connection the fine cooperation of Mr. F. C. Maguire who is in contact with Pittsburgh bookdealers.

A new printing of the pamphlet, "The Causes of Business Depression," is now available. About 130,000 pamphlets of this title have been printed by the Foundation, and 121,000 distributed in special and effective ways during the past two years.

An Index has been prepared by the secretary for a new edition of "Social Problems." The American version has not contained an Index in previous editions. It is hoped to have the new printing ready in March. The book will match the 50th Anniversary Edition of "Progress and Poverty," and will have a bright new jacket with original design.

From Mr. Easton Garrett of Buenos Aires, we learn that a Spanish translation of "Significant Paragraphs from 'Progress and Poverty'" is contemplated, and the Foundation has given the Argentine group permission for the use of the text.

The National Library of Peiping, China, recently ordered our entire list of books, including the "Philosophy of Henry George," as a result of a circular letter sent to foreign libraries.

Mr. Robert McCaig is conducting a "Toledo Economics Forum," and has supplied us with a list of names of persons in Toledo who have become interested in the subject of the Single Tax, etc. Mr. Freeland of the Seattle club has sent a packet of publicity which the club has obtained in the *Seattle Star*. Special articles written by Adele Parker, on current topics of interest, related to the tax problem are skilfully presented in the columns of the *Star*.

The Henry George Club of Lincoln, Neb., is exceedingly active, and is promoting interest in the subject of land value taxation in Lincoln. One member has become enthusiastic about placing "Progress and Poverty" in the hands of his friends, and has sent to us for a quantity of the books. Mr. Freyermuth of South Bend, Ind., continues his work of interesting those in his community, and Mr. Strachan of Chicago, is likewise engaged. We cannot list all of the people who write to us regularly, describing their work and the progress they are making in their own communities, but the sum total of active workers is greater than it has ever been in the years immediately preceding, and we hope that it will continue to grow.

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN,  
Executive Secretary.

JUDGING by the large number of "relief" measures that Congress is passing the pavements must be badly in need of repair in that place said to be paved with good intentions.

## The Henry George Lecture Assn.

(United with the Henry George Foundation of America)  
538 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, Director and Treasurer

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CLAUDE L. WATSON, 538 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.  
PROF. HARRY GUNNISON BROWN, 403 Garth St., Columbia, Mo.  
PERCY R. WILLIAMS, 1310 Berger Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
HON. GEORGE H. DUNCAN, East Jaffery, N. H.  
MRS. ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE, 217 Park Ave., New York City.

### LOCAL SPEAKERS

CHARLES G. BALDWIN, Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.  
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HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Cincinnati, O.  
WILLIAM A. BLACK, San Antonio, Tex.  
A. A. BOOTH, Seaboard Building, Seattle, Wash.  
J. D. BRYANT, Albany, Ore.  
JOHN S. CODMAN, 20 East St., Boston, Mass.  
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ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 10 Fairfield Rd., Victoria, B. C.  
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WILLIAM MATTHEWS, Spokane, Wash.  
RAY ROBSON, 608 Chestnut St., Lansing, Mich.  
MISS EDITH SEEKEL, 626 Ethel Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.  
ABE D. WALDAUER, Bank of Commerce Building, Memphis, Tenn.  
EDWARD WHITE, Kansas City, Mo.  
JOSEPH FORSHAW, St. Louis, Mo.  
Chicago Ill.:  
HENRY HARDINGE.  
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MORRIS VAN VEEN.

### NEWS OF THE HENRY GEORGE CLUBS

What it can mean for a city to have an active Henry George Club with regular meetings through good and seemingly poor Single Tax times is clearly seen in Pittsburgh. After ten years of weekly meetings, the Henry George Club now ranks as one of the most influential organizations in the city. The club was active and influential long before the present rise to political prominence of many of its members with the administration of Mayor William N. McNair. With the name and message of Henry George already familiar to thousands, its influence now can be even greater.

The followers of Henry George in every city should be prepared to take advantage of each new opportunity as it arises. A local organization of some kind with regular meetings is one essential part of this preparation. Among the cities that are getting prepared to deliver more and more effective blows for the justice of Henry George is Lincoln, Neb.

*Lincoln, Neb., Henry George Club*—Miss C. E. Blumer, secretary-treasurer, writes Dec. 11: "Some time ago, I wrote you and requested a list of the Henry George Clubs in the United States, and you very kindly sent me a list of those in the United States and Canada. Since then, momentous things have happened here in Lincoln. . . . We have organized a Henry George Club, and now have a little group of about twenty-five, all eager to learn more about the philosophy of Henry George. It seems we cannot give them information fast enough.

We hold our meetings every Monday evening in the Social Science Hall, University Campus. . . . We are trying hard to hold the interest of our little group by answering their questions to the best of our ability. We are also trying to get them to read the works of Henry George." The officers of the club are Mr. E. W. Maxey, attorney, president; Mr. A. G. Chapman, vice-president; Miss Blumer, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. A. G. Chapman, assistant secretary. The club is distributing literature and plans to arrange for a lecture association speaker to address groups in Lincoln before long.

*Lansing, Mich., Henry George Club*—As a candidate for alderman at the last election, Mr. Ray Robson, organizer of the Henry George Club, advocated home rule in taxation and a Single Tax programme. While not elected Mr. Robson writes: "My tax plank was quite favorably received." The Henry George Club is now meeting once a month in the Universalist Church, the pastor of which is an avowed follower of Henry George. The first meeting of the year was held Sunday, Jan. 7. Mr. Robson has also been conducting a course in "The Essential Elements of Economics" at the Lansing School of Adult Education. The class has 21 enrolled with a usual attendance of about 15. In addition to these political and pedagogical activities Mr. Robson has not been neglecting his newspaper letter writing. In view of the government's attempt to keep up prices in those very businesses where racketeering has been most notorious he writes in the *Michigan State Journal*, Nov. 29, "It is beginning to seem that NRA is going to mean the 'National Racketeers Alliance,' unless something is done to put a stop to the present tendency."

*Grand Rapids, Mich., Henry George Club*—Mr. M. H. Friedrich, organizer of the Henry George Club of Grand Rapids, is to be congratulated upon his selection as editor of *The Michigan Democrat*, "published by the Democratic party in Grand Rapids and fighting for Jeffersonian principles." A recent edition of this paper under Mr. Friedrich's editorship contained an extended abridgement of John B. Sharpe's notable article, "The New Political Economy." Mr. Friedrich writes, "With regard to the Grand Rapids Henry George Club and its activities, I will endeavor to put forth every effort to carry on the work." Dr. F. C. Jarvis, a member of the Henry George Club, is the new postmaster for Grand Rapids.

*South Bend, Ind., Henry George Club*—Dr. E. G. Freyermuth, organizer of the club, writes that he is planning to have some active work done in the way of organization and toward the arranging of speaking appointments. "Dr. Elmer Ward Cole, pastor of the Christian Church," says Dr. Freyermuth, "is interested in the Single Tax and was very much impressed with the talk of Claude L. Watson made here some time ago."

#### LECTURE ASSOCIATION NOTES

Mr. Monroe will leave Chicago during February for an extended organizing and speaking tour through the South and West which will take him into practically every State west of the Mississippi during the spring months.

Mr. Joseph Farabaugh, formerly of Carrolltown, Pa., is now living with his son, Dr. Charles L. Farabaugh, at Owatonna, Minn. At the age of 79, Mr. Farabaugh is able to devote more time and thought to the Single Tax movement than ever before. As an ardent follower of Henry George for forty years, he has written and spoken on the Single Tax on every possible occasion, whether to individuals or groups. One of his many achievements was to secure the passage of resolutions by the Pennsylvania State Grange endorsing the Single Tax principle. If Mr. Farabaugh creates the same interest and enthusiasm for Single Tax in Owatonna that he helped to do in and about Johnstown and Carrolltown, Pa., that little city will be one of the live centers of the movement.

We are very grateful to Mr. Fenton Lawson of Cincinnati, O., for

sending us an original letter of Henry George's written in London, Jan. 12, 1884, to Mr. F. A. Nast of Brooklyn, N. Y. It reads: "My dear Nast: I have made a great success here. St. James Hall which holds 4,000 was *packed*, and hundreds were turned away. There has been no such meeting they say since the first meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League. I am in good health and everything looks promising. . . . I shall be marching all over; but my London address will be care Wm. Reeves, 185 Fleet St. . . . With best wishes, Yours sincerely, Henry George." That part of the letter referring to personal matters was torn off by Mr. Nast.

Mr. Lawson also enclosed a clipping from a Cincinnati paper of Oct. 29, 1897, telling of the death of Henry George. The article reads in part: "Henry George, the brilliant and beloved leader of men, died this morning at 5 o'clock at the Union Square Hotel of apoplexy. . . . No public man in New York had more friends and fewer enemies despite some of his sharp sayings, than Henry George. Great hearted, optimistic, firm of trust in his fellow-men, his faith in the bright future of his country and in the betterment of conditions for men who toil, had the fervor and high feeling of religious conviction. 'The prophet has become a martyr,' was said today. 'He prophesied better conditions, and has died fighting to bring them about.'"

Upon the suggestion of Mr. George Hughes of Topeka, Kan., the Federation of Labor of his city wrote to President Roosevelt advocating "that a federal land value tax be adopted as a just source of revenue and as a means for opening employment opportunities on valuable land sites now unused and held for speculation." The letter, which had the unanimous and hearty approval of the Federation, also urged "that the lands of the Tennessee Valley Authority be operated on some tax or enclavial basis which would prevent land speculation now rampant and provide revenue for the projects without burdening labor and industry."

From Victoria, B. C., we have an encouraging letter from Mr. Alexander Hamilton. While there are some who would gladly go back on our principles in certain of the municipalities having exemption of improvements, Mr. Hamilton says, "but I have faith in the voters if it comes to a plebiscite. We have had plebiscites in different municipalities and the people always gave thumping majorities for the exemption of improvements. The latest example was Coldstream, a little fruit-growing rural municipality in the Okanagan valley. . . . The result was 66 against taxing improvements and 6 in favor."

Mr. F. Gordon Pickell, of Detroit, writes, "Thanks for the pamphlets. There is good reading in them and I am trying to find good use for the extra ones."

From Mr. F. Grierson of Ottawa, Canada, we learn that "This depression deepens here more and more and yet the remedy is at hand." Indeed the remedy is at hand and Mr. Grierson is one who is helping to make it a reality.

Prof. Irving Fisher's list of men "who understand the real meaning of money," was published on Christmas and puts the name of Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown at the very top.

The Henry George Lecture Association has a new and honored member in the person of Miss Jane Leslie Monroe, daughter of John and Marien Monroe. Miss Jane was born Dec. 22, 1933, weighs six and one-half pounds. She will make a Single Tax speech, after her own fashion, at almost any time of the day or night and upon the slightest provocation if any. But they are great speeches.

## Work of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

THE months of December and January were busy ones for the Manhattan Single Tax Club. The fiscal year ended Nov. 30 and the annual meeting was held Dec. 7, when the Club elected the following officers and directors:

President, Charles H. Ingersoll; Vice President, Philip Stanley; Treasurer, Harry W. Olney; General Secretary, Walter Fairchild; Recording Secretary, Elma Dame; Financial Secretary, Frank A. Hill; Directors: John H. Allen, George H. Atkinson, Richard Eyre, Charles A. Lingham, George Lloyd, Joseph Dana Miller.

The president has appointed an activities committee composed of George Lloyd, Whidden Graham and Stephen Bell; this committee has already started to work on three particular things: 1. Getting our mayor behind the Pittsburgh Plan and otherwise promoting it for adoption here. 2. Organization of the NTRA work: (the National Tax Relief Association). 3. The establishing of regular club activities, and if possible regular meetings and extension of membership.

The National Tax Relief Association is largely a paper organization yet but has for its officers and directors the following:

President, Charles H. Ingersoll; Treasurer, John H. Allen; Secretary, Gladwin Bouton. Directors: John H. Allen, L. R. Bonta, Cornelius Donovan, J. P. Kohler, Charles H. Ingersoll, Harry W. Olney, Harry Weinberger.

Its stated purpose is to secure legislation for the removal of taxation from business and its slogan is from the statement of the U. S. Supreme Court, "The power to tax involves the power to destroy." Its office is 1182 Broadway, Room 704, New York City. Its purpose is aimed to procure the cooperation of business and industry in the conduct of work that is wholly in their financial interest but which they are leaving for labor to finance. Mr. Bouton has already mailed 1,000 letters to best business concerns largely in the east and results are coming; incidentally Mr. Bouton is being favored by several prominent Single Taxers for appointment to the office of Tax Commissioner of New York which office was made historical by the occupancy of Lawson Purdy.

Mr. Ingersoll's radio activities are being resumed after his incapacity from a broken ankle, according to the following schedule: WBNX, Bronx, N. Y., (1350 k.c.) every morning at 11:30 except Saturday and Sunday. WOV, New York, N. Y., (1130 k.c.) Monday at 3:00 p. m. WDAS, Philadelphia, Pa., Friday at 5:15 p. m., Saturday 10:15 a. m. and 9:45 p. m. WDEL, Wilmington, Saturday, (Time not yet announced).

At present he is giving "Current Events from the Economic Standpoint," every day, which entails a much greater result with many more opportunities to advance our economic position effectively; he will, however, in

addition give his single topic talks at several stations beside his Current Event stations which will probably be three, making in all from fifteen to twenty talks weekly.

An important further variation is the Monday morning "Answers to Father Coughlin," in his discourse of the day before; this may develop into something very important.

Mr. Ingersoll's radio talks are now being published weekly by the *San Diego Broom* edited by Mr. D'Aryan and also used daily in the editorial department of the *Coshocton Tribune*. We expect to extend the use of these talks very generously as they are undoubtedly good columnist material. Mr. Ingersoll is also using this material as the basis for organized letter writing to papers and is requesting the names of available papers in every city. Will Single Taxers in the country respond to this request?

Below are a few current events as they are seen from an economic standpoint:

### WILL FREE TRADE COME—JUST NATURALLY?

Joseph Stalin of Russia says to Walter Duranty of the *New York Times* in a very human talk, "We want a lot of your stuff, of course, but we pay our bills—whatever the more civilized nations are doing—and we can only buy if we can sell, which we can't with your tariff." There he states in a short sentence the real economic theory of international trade on which have been wasted volumes. Trade is barter, and, therefore, no importation can hurt our industries because there must be an equivalent export that our American workmen produce. I see that several countries are agitating the tariff also, France, Spain and the Phillipines, and it may be that economic pressure and the native horse sense of the business man will destroy these tariff walls before the whole world wastes all its substance building navies and air fleets that are largely fostered by tariffs.

### THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES A POLICY OF COOPERATION

between the countries of America, north and south. Does this mean that whenever there is trouble in any of these countries, he will send a dozen warships to surround them? Or is that not intervention?

He says fear lies behind the threat against peace. Before his election, he told us that low tariffs pointed the way to eliminate armaments, but he has with apparent satisfaction allocated a large proportion of the 15 billion dollars to be extracted from American consumers to the building of death-dealing war machinery.

### OUR MAYOR LAGUARDIA ALSO WANTS TO BE A DICTATOR

and is now applying for such powers ala Roosevelt. There must be something in our New York atmosphere that has a tendency to turn democrats into autocrats. There's no doubt but the dictatorship urge spreads very persistently, but we wish our mayor could put across his big

job with what he has in the way of implements without in other ways following the Washington pattern.

One of the interesting developments of NRA's socialism and dictatorship is the proposal here to drive all the beggars and pan handlers off the streets. Our police head, Gen. O'Ryan, would do this job.

We have created millions of beggars who, on the verge of starvation, must beg or steal. And we've done this by stealing their social property from them.

Every beggar in New York is the moral owner of about \$2,000 worth of franchise and land values that is being given to racketeers of the Astor, Wendell, Trinity Church type, and before we drive these unfortunates from the streets they have paid for with their blood money, we should have an accounting of our stewardship of the estate they have created.

### POWER INTERESTS ARE MONOPOLY INTERESTS

Our minerals, natural resources and land values generally, comprise at least half our whole national "wealth," and these interests have taken that half that belongs as much (morally) to us citizens as the half we made with our hands, brains and capital.

Now there's no party standing up for us as citizens. The Democrats have run off after socialism which makes no distinction between social and individual property.

So unless the Republican party sees this opportunity now and stands for BUSINESS and the people against the handful—not over three per cent of our 125 million people—that get their living from monopoly by embezzling the income from half our wealth—well, we'll just have to form a third party.

Suicides, banditry and poverty are all symptoms of disease in our "body politic" from which it must be cured or it will die, and the cure can't be effected with drugs or nostrums such as the NRA. Nature will cure, if we reverse our process of taxing business and labor and turn to taxing monopoly and laziness.

### THE SOCIALISTIC REFORMER WILL THROW A GLEEFUL FIT

over the news of the great Mellon's demise in Pittsburgh, and the fact that the government can crack down and take away as much as 90 of this 200 million dollar estate.

And that pet idea and others, like big income taxes and excess profit taxes, are very plausible and doubtless more popular with the "unthinking mass"—whoever they are—than the saner and sounder idea of preventing such profits and accumulations.

If they were the profits of industry and enterprise, their idea would not be so foolish, but no industry can yield excess profits or pile up such fortunes. That means they are taken from some one else's industry and where it HURTS—hurts just like our present poverty and distress.

Socialists, who sob for the suffering of the masses, countenance their robbery by a system of racketeering in fran-

chises, natural resources and land values. Then the socialist would officially exploit industry, the employer of all labor, and control and collect its profits along with the profits of monopoly.

Economic science says, put all earnings of social property in the treasury, that being enough to pay all the cost of government, business industry and labor are entirely free of tax burdens, and there is your economic balance in place of our present economic chaos.

### SKYSCRAPERS ARE GETTING UNPOPULAR SAYS MR. SHURLEFF, A CITY PLANNER

They overdo production of office space and meet the law of diminishing returns and are poor investments.

Undoubtedly, as they are a flower of land speculation that makes land worth as high as 50 million dollars an acre, at which price you can't make low buildings yield a profit. Such land prices stimulate high buildings to yield a profit. Such land prices drive buildings to the heavens to get a profit—and then fail.

Taxing those high land values would bring them to normal where competition and profit would be normal. No taxes on the buildings—again cutting rents, and enabling greater space to be used.

Mr. Ingersoll was invited to address the following meetings:

*Tilden High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1:00 p. m.* This appointment came through Dan Berg, a member of the economics class which Mr. Ingersoll addressed, probably influenced by John Luxton, Single Taxer, who teaches Biology in this great school of 7,000 pupils. This class of 100 is headed by Professor Max who is not a Single Taxer but is actively interested, as his class is. Mr. Ingersoll talked three-quarters of an hour and with original material inspired by the keen interest of these students, largely Jewish, and the quiz was spontaneous and very keen, lasting another three-quarters of an hour. Would have kept on for hours but for time limitation.

*Aeropagus Club, Irvington, N. J., Sat., Dec. 16., 8:30 p. m.* At the home of Louis Miraglai, 218 Nesbit Terrace. Invited by J. B. Derr, principal. Twenty-five men present of the same type as always met at the several meetings attended last year in Irvington; that is, the typical business man, and in this instance members of the Board of Education. Gave a special talk of three-quarters of an hour and had a most interesting quiz of one and one-half hours. He was much impressed with the various calls from Irvington and is trying to start a club there.

**W**HETHER a big expanse of territory called the Gran Chaco shall be exploited by Paraguayan or Bolivian landlords has crazed a lot of peons in both countries so that they are murdering each other under the delusion that such insanity is patriotism. Some fools will fight to be robbed by their own countrymen rather than by a foreigner.

## Mayor McNair Urges Immediate Advances In Taxation

WITHOUT waiting for inauguration day, Mayor William N. McNair, immediately following his election in November, telegraphed Governor Gifford Pinchot asking him to include in his call for the special session of the State Legislature, a provision for consideration of municipal tax legislation. This request was granted and three bills were immediately drawn by a committee representing the Mayor, and introduced in the House of Representatives at Harrisburgh. One of these bills covered the famous Five-to-One tax plan, sponsored by Mayor McNair during his campaign and which provoked a rather heated controversy. Another provided for the application of the graded tax plan on the present fifty per cent basis to the school taxes levied by the Board of Public Education, while the third bill called for the extension of the fifty per cent building tax rate to the levying of county taxes.

Prompt action was secured in the lower house on the first two of these measures and through the prestige of the incoming city administration, both bills were adopted by the house by an overwhelming majority, there being but one dissenting vote cast against the school tax measure and only seven in opposition to the Five-to-One city tax bill. There was every indication that one or both of these bills would also have been adopted by the State Senate, assurances having been received of strong support for these measures on the part of the State Senators from the Allegheny County delegation, despite the fact that these six Senators were all Republicans who had opposed the candidacy of Mr. McNair. Unfortunately, however, the special session of the legislature was extremely limited as to time and the date for final adjournment had been fixed so that the final legislative day fixed allowed less than one week for consideration and action by the Senate. And owing to minor amendments sought by Senators from Philadelphia, it was impossible to get either bill on the Senate calendar in time for a vote in the special session. These measures, however, will again be pressed either at the regular session of the state assembly opening in January 1935, or possibly much sooner, if Governor Pinchot should call another special session this year as now seems probable.

Meanwhile, Mayor McNair has made two very significant recommendations to the City Council which may result in immediate advance steps without waiting for any action of the State Legislature, emergency powers having been granted to the City Council with regard to the levying of taxes by ordinance of council. The Mayor has recommended to Council the imposition of a ten per cent tax on ground rents to apply to land leased under

terms by which the lessee pays the taxes in addition to the rental. Another important measure sponsored by the new administration for action by City Council would exempt new homes of \$5,000 valuation or under from taxes for a period of five years.

\* \* \*

Ralph E. Smith, Treasurer of the Henry George Club, is the new Morals Court Magistrate and Attorney Bernard B. McGinnis, another life-long Single Taxer, has been appointed a member of the Civil Service Commission.

The rapid growth of popular interest in the Single Tax during recent weeks has been the subject of much comment. The Pittsburgh public libraries find it quite impossible to meet the demand for "Progress and Poverty" and other works of Henry George and have placed orders for more of these books with which to supply the calls from their patrons. Single Tax lecturers are also much in demand. Francis W. Maguire, the alert Secretary of the Henry George Club, has taken the fullest advantage of his opportunities and as a result has placed thousands of pieces of pamphlet literature in the hands of the people and such literature is receiving more respectful attention than heretofore.

### HENRY GEORGE CLUB HOLDS VICTORY DINNER

FOUR hundred persons participated in a testimonial banquet given by the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh, in honor of the Mayor-elect on the evening of Dec. 9, in the ballroom of the Hotel William Penn.

Cornelius D. Scully was the toastmaster on this occasion and the speakers included State Senator Marvin C. Harrison and former Councilman Peter Witt, of Cleveland, O.; Clayton J. Ewing, President of the Chicago Single Tax Club; Hon. William N. McNair; City Controller, James P. Kerr; Councilman, Robert Garland; David L. Lawrence, Democratic County Chairman; George E. Evans, President of the Henry George Foundation; William B. Foster, President of the Henry George Club; and Percy R. Williams, Secretary of the Henry George Foundation.

The dinner was a very delightful occasion and, though the list of speakers included very diverse elements of the political and business life of the community, there was a very remarkable unanimity of expressions favorable to the Pittsburgh policy of concentrating municipal taxes on land values and a general agreement that the time is ripe for a further extension of this policy.

THE relation of a State to its territory, which in modern times enters into the essential conception of the State, implies that the land cannot be looked upon, even provisionally, as a true subject of permanent individual appropriation.

PROF. SHELDEN AMOS, "Science of Law," 1874

## Single Taxers Prominent in New Pittsburgh Administration

PITTSBURGH'S new Single Tax-Democratic administration was auspiciously launched on the first day of January, with record-breaking crowds storming the corridors and Council Chamber of the City-County Building where the inaugural exercises were held at high noon on New Year's Day. William N. McNair, Pittsburgh's first Democratic Mayor in more than a quarter of a century, has promptly selected the members of his cabinet and other important officers of the new city government, though the final choice for the important post of Director of Public Safety had been deferred, but at this writing is about to be determined.

Percy R. Williams, Executive Secretary of the Henry George Foundation for the past eight years, has been appointed Chief City Assessor and will serve as the head of the Department of Assessors, in which department he served as a minority member of the Board of Assessors during the second Magee administration, 1922 to 1925, inclusive. He is also serving temporarily as Secretary to the Mayor, pending the selection of his successor for that position.

Cornelius D. Scully, a trustee of the Foundation, is City Solicitor under the new administration. William E. Schoyer, Treasurer of the same organization, has been named a member of the Traction Conference Board. William B. Foster, President of the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh, has been appointed a member of the Board of Assessors. Charles A. Poth, also active in the Henry George Club, is a new appointee as a member of the Board of Water Assessors. Thomas C. McMahon, for twelve years Chief Assessor under previous administrations and an outstanding friend of the Pittsburgh graded tax plan, has been retained as the minority member of the Board of Assessors by Mayor McNair.

In the organization of City Council on Jan. 1, Robert Garland, independent Republican and the oldest member of Council in point of service, was elected President of Council, former Mayor William A. Magee, elected to Council in the recent election, casting the deciding vote as between the four Republicans and four Democrats in Council. Mr. Garland has for years been an ardent advocate of the graded tax and of its extension and is heartily cooperating with Mayor McNair, though not of his party.

OVERPRODUCTION actually exists, and it is not underconsumption either, in turning out of paving material for the broad and crooked highway leading downward. The biggest producer is General Hugh S. Johnson of the N. R. A. What a pity that he is stopped by ideas of propriety from urging a processing tax on his own product.

## Keeping Step With Progress

### CALIFORNIA CHALLENGES PRIVILEGE

THERE is a movement under way in California that is attracting wide attention. An Initiative measure is being circulated for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to effect a redistribution of opportunity, by forcing the release of natural resources for use. This is proposed to be done by progressive steps and by an intelligent, constitutional and discriminating use of the taxing power. Personal property and \$1,000 of assessed homestead improvements values, are to be tax free immediately and all improvement upon land are to be untaxed progressively, until the chief source of public revenue for state and local governments will be an ad valorem tax upon land.

If the ambition of those sponsoring this movement to make economic democracy a fact in California is realized, it will become in truth and in fact a "Golden State." With the products of labor and capital tax free there will be an upswing of production that will excite the admiration of the world.—*The Roman Forum*, Los Angeles, Calif.

### SCHOOL REVENUES

THE public has a barrel of money, several of them, that it hasn't opened yet—doesn't know about them.

Public sentiment is overwhelmingly favorable to public education. Not only is this true with the original New England stock, but those who have emigrated here more recently from foreign lands.

Really, I do not think that there is any real complaint of the high cost of education so-called frills; I think it is entirely regarding the source of school revenues.

This relatively untouched source of public wealth (barrel or barrels of money which have not been opened as yet because they are not publicly known) is for the most part in the downtown districts of great Ohio cities.

They are publicly created values now being privately appropriated.

They should be used for school purposes, other public improvements and services and to the relief from taxation of other classifications of property now carrying an unjust burden of assessment.

Take Cleveland for instance: It has a total land value of about one billion dollars exclusive of other classifications of property; it is totally held by 84,000 owners. Half of this value (not area) is held by 500 owners and one-third by 125 families—mostly the double cream of downtown or retail area.

Some of it, even stores of small area, on prominent corners, rents for as high as \$25,000 annually in low buildings erected years ago, so that the rental is almost totally one on land or location value made by traffic, the public, or people walking past it.

Here are the barrels of money, belonging to the public, that haven't as yet been opened because they have not been seen by the public and which should be used for school and other public purposes.

The same is true of all other great cities of Ohio just in proportion to their population.

Public school teachers have a wider influence upon public opinion, and outside the school room, than they realize, and together with the heads of their organization formed for the purpose of getting their money, they should study this proper source of obtaining school and other public revenues.

Their position will not be secure until they do.

That clause in the Constitution of Ohio which provides that all property shall be assessed equally for its value in money should at once be taken out of the Constitution.

The question of public revenues, particularly their source, should clearly be left to the legislature.

For years it has been kept in the Constitution by the great land owning families in the great cities of Ohio, who now propose further protection to themselves by a sales tax.

DAVID GIBSON, in *Lorain* (Ohio) *Journal*.

## RIGHTS

**H**UMAN rights and property rights are discussed as if they were different or opposing rights.

The right to acquire and possess property is a human right. Our trouble is that neither in law nor in equity have we discriminated between what is mine, what is thine and what is ours. Public property has been appropriated legally and illegally by the privileged few, while up to now we have tolerated an unjust economic system which disregarded the property rights of the masses, or, more accurately, their right of access to the natural resources.

Low wages, high rents, burdensome taxes on food, clothing and shelter have been the portion of the toiling masses.

We have accentuated the importance of the rights of property of the House of Have, while curtailing the human rights of property of those who have not.—JOHN J. EGAN, in *World-Telegram*.

## HENRY GEORGE—DEFEATED

**T**HIRTY-SIX years ago tomorrow Henry George died. \* \* \* \*  
New York City was then, as now, engaged in an exciting mayoralty campaign. George was one of the candidates. His health had not been equal to the strain of the contest, and he died just before election day. Popular grief expressed itself in what is said to have been one of the most impressive demonstrations that ever honored the passing of an American private citizen.

\* \* \*

In 1879 his famous book, "Progress and Poverty" was published. Its full title, surprising us with the current word "depression," is "Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions, and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth, The Remedy." Fifty-four years have elapsed, poverty and depressions are still with us, and the "remedy" has not yet been adopted. The defeat that dogged his life is still unsatisfied and will not even yet yield him a posthumous success.

This outcome, however, was not unexpected by the author of "Progress and Poverty." He reckoned on the immense inertia of the masses and the auxiliary opposition of vested interest, looked down a long future, and believed that the stars in their courses fought not against him, but for him. He had set forth his convictions, and he could wait.

The book, though at first comparatively unnoticed, achieved a great reputation both in America and Britain, and George was hailed as a social prophet. Even today any man who conducts a forum, in New York City at least, is likely to become aware that the "Single Taxer" is still in the land.

The doctrine of the "Single Tax" is George's contribution to American economic thought. He did not invent it, but he clarified it and popularized it with passionate eloquence, with tireless research, historical evidence, all inclusive argument, and reasoning inexorable and irresistible as the movements of a planet.

In fact, if "Progress and Poverty" has a fault, it is in just this, that it is too convincing. An argument that leaves the opposition without a leg to stand on, leaves the reader with the suspicion that there must be a leg somewhere that has been overlooked. Legless or not, the opposition still stands, the conditions against which George contended continue, and the panacea remains untried.

With the interest in economics and social questions that has grown out of the depression, Henry George's classic is again being read. Whoever goes through its 500 pages of cogent reasoning, broad historical reference, apt illustration and occasional bursts of eloquent appeal will be astonished and rewarded. He will have read one of the great elemental books.—Editorial *Honolulu Daily Star Bulletin*.

**I**HAD almost overlooked Mr. Neilson, and Mr. Neilson should not be overlooked. His volume is a spirited attack on the rhetorical solutions of the aforesaid Messrs., Tugwell, Chase, and Soule; he writes with quite as much suavity as Dr. Tugwell, and he is immensely more readable. To be sure, his criticism is made from the standpoint of a

Single Taxer, and this may lead readers who do not believe in the Single Tax to throw it out of court, but that would be a mistake. Some of his criticisms are perhaps unjust, and some are irrelevant, but many of them are shrewd and nearly all of them are amusing. "One can respect a fullfledged socialist," he begins, "but I do not see how anyone can summon up any respect whatever for a half-hearted one." And he proceeds to take the clothes off this weak-kneed and anaemic brand of "socialism" in a highly diverting manner.—Review of Tugwell, Soule, Neilson, et al, by HENRY HAZLETT in *American Mercury* for January.

## LAND SPECULATION AND COLLAPSE OF LOCAL CREDIT

**S**O wide is the range of circumstances under which municipalities have become financially embarrassed that a brief summary is desirable as a basis for considering appropriate remedies. They fall roughly into four categories.

Any future chronicle of municipal finance through this period will be forced to link most of the serious and continuing defaults with the real estate speculation of the pre-depression era. While the scandalous municipal defaults of the 1870's, in connection with bonds issued in aid of private railroad construction, resulted in a general ban on local borrowing for private purposes, the country has had its equivalent in recent years in the flood of local improvement and special assessment bonds to boom cities where public credit was used in reality for the promotion of private real estate speculation, and security was based on fictitious values which helped to inflate the tax base. While the collapse of local credit under these conditions is evoking elaborate and long-extended refunding plans, the holders of such bonds have no assurance that they will ever recover more than a fraction of their "investment." Even a prior lien on an abandoned sub-division is hardly gilt-edged security.—DR. FREDERICK L. BIRD in *Dun and Bradstreet's Monthly Review*.

## CHARLES I AND OLIVER CROMWELL

**I**N considering the politics of Charles I it must be remembered that the theory of the constitution was still unfixed. In the Middle Ages, there was no such thing, generally speaking, as ownership of land. Land was a fief of the crown. It was burdened with elaborate feudal dues and obligations. It was in the attempt to enforce these ancient rights of the crown, especially ship-money, that Charles I raised against him all the rich men of the kingdom.

Our modern system of plutocracy, or the rule of wealth, and of the uncontrolled monopoly of land and of natural resources was represented by Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans. The future lay with them. Though, thanks to Charles I, they were not able to destroy the Church of England, they were able to enclose the commons and to rob the lands of the poor; to abolish the feudal dues, on which Charles I had insisted, without substituting a land-tax in their place; and to transform the merry England of the Catholic and feudal ages into the plutocratic England of modern times; the England of concentrated wealth, land-monopoly, and proletarian misery. We see economic history today with different eyes from those of Macaulay and Green. Perhaps we shall not side with the politics of the Stuarts. At least, we may cease to think the changes wrought by Cromwell and the land-grabbing rich men of the seventeenth century as beneficent in the economic sphere.

It may be that when Charles I was opposing the English landlords, he was simply making a last, unsuccessful effort to preserve the mediaeval system. Under those ancient tenures, the right to the use of the earth was shared, as it has not been since Cromwell's time, by all the people of England. The great estates bore all the burdens of government and society. Land monopoly was impossible in the Catholic ages. It was the king's effort to preserve the incidence of the ancient tenures that first stirred the gentry against him, but England has hardly been a happier country because of the victory of the landlords.

Charles I failed to restore feudalism. The spirit of the age was against him. His unsuccessful efforts have united, to defame him, all the advocates of landlordism, from Cromwell's time to our own. If ever the issue is raised again it must be in a different form. The policies of the Stuarts is a thing of merely historic interest. Yet it is far from certain that the land-system which became triumphant after Cromwell's day was any better than the feudal system for which the king contended.—REV. FREDERICK S. ARNOLD in *American Church Monthly* for January.

#### FROM AN ORGAN OF THE BUILDING TRADE

**I**N this generation it is too much to hope that legislators with the needs of men uppermost in their hearts will bring into existence a Single Tax law. It is too just and equitable to accomplish passage in this era. It allows too much life and appreciation for the masses who make such comfortable carpets for the classes.

But it will come! There is too definite a desire being born in men's hearts for the space, the air, the green fields, and for fundamentals, to allow confiscation and iron-handed retention of land to continue indefinitely, to allow a dole of four feet with a house which is only at best a gift of the land and represents brick, stone and wood which the earth produced. People must be allowed to breathe in the humblest circumstances; the beauty of God must be outside their windows, on every side of their shelter, for their hands to touch and their minds to feed on.

The next generation will claim these things. Education will plant the seed in their minds and its development will be rapid and welcome.

For such people housing projects will be thrust aside with indignation and contempt that men should attempt to confiscate and apportion what belongs to all equally.—*Building*, Philadelphia, Pa.

#### FROM AN IMPORTANT SERIES

**I**N a former article of this series the Prime Minister of Canada was quoted in a brief but very striking utterance. In introducing the bill to establish this country's present system of radio broadcasting, Right Hon. R. B. Bennett stated that the medium of radio transmission within Canada's boundaries is one of the natural resources of this country, and added:

"I believe that there is no government in Canada that does not regret today that it has parted with some of these natural resources for considerations wholly inadequate and on terms that do not reflect the principle under which the Crown holds the natural resources in trust for all the people."

Here is a case of applying the lessons of past experience with a view to an improved future; here is a precedent for new policies in handling the natural resources of Canada which are still unalienated and which the Crown "holds in trust for all the people."—From the series, "Canada's Natural Resources," by A. C. CAMPBELL in the *Canadian Unionist*, for Dec., 1933.

## The Youth Movement In Chicago

#### METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

**F**OLLOWING the first of a series of articles written by Robert Watt in *Interscholastic*, a bi-weekly publication for prep students (circulation 200,000), the question has come up as to the eventual course to be followed by the Youth of America. The answer going to the many youth groups who have written us regarding this matter is generally as follows:

The manifesto of the Youth of America has been designed to combine the planks of all the more important youth organizations already formed. We have on record ten major groups seeking to abolish war. Seventeen organizations point their efforts towards establishing an

educational programme similar to ours. Even dissatisfied young communists and socialists see in our free trade and government ownership of land planks demands that are parallel to their own.

Our first step is one of federation of these groups, giving to each of them a more complete programme for youth plus the strength that lies in unity of purpose.

Councils and sub-councils are already forming in cities and towns throughout the country. The members on these councils are representatives from various organizations in their cities. Their duties are to see that each separate group is taught the enlarged programme as offered by the Youth of America, and to train them to co-ordinate their activities in publicity and education. Under each council are high schools and colleges sub-councils composed of representatives from the schools in their cities.

The work of the Central Council, with headquarters in Chicago but containing representatives from all over the nation, is to see that the programme is adhered to, and to exchange ideas of merit. Manuscript for radio programmes will be distributed; ideas for raising money, holding banquets and organizing debates are forwarded to committee chairmen in each council. Research is carried on and all data filed away for reference by individuals, councils and organizations already federated.

Veteran Single Taxers are needed to act as privy-counsellors and advisors to the councils. Their entire programme revolves around the principles set forth by Henry George, and is designed to fulfill the demands of a democracy as set forth by Plato; Universal Suffrage, Universal Education, and Responsibility of the People to the Government.

Since it is youth we wish to reach, even the political-economic items of the manifesto are treated emotionally rather than intellectually. We are frank to say that this is the halfway mark between socialism and capitalism: it is communism of the land, plus preservation of individualism and the continuance of the American traditions of private property and private enterprise. This is the definition of Equality which reconciles the opposing terms of Liberty and Fraternity, the battle cry of revolutionaries for centuries.

#### PATERNALISM?

Many Single Taxers fear that our educational platform, calling for a national department of education with a Secretary of Education in the cabinet smacks of paternalism, gives government control where not wanted. Here is the principle from which the Youth of America derived its sanction to proceed with this plank:

1. Governments do not and should not compete: therefore efficiency and economy result from merging.
2. Industries do and should compete: therefore they should not merge or be codified under government control.

We believe that education falls in the first category of institutions which do not and should not compete, and therefore can merge with benefits in both efficiency and economy. In our manifesto we provide that any money that is disbursed for educational purposes by the government must be matched by the states or cities benefitted—in this way we safeguard the possibility of the government gaining control through holding the purse-strings.

Forty-two departments in Washington now having a finger in the educational pie will be combined; by national planning an annual saving of \$18,000,000 a year in building alone is anticipated, \$13,000,000 cut from the annual bill now spent on research, books and duplicated educational machinery, and \$8,000,000 by a possible elimination of only one per cent of the failures in school now occurring each year.

WALTER HECHT.

"By industry we thrive"—provided the land speculator and the tax collector aren't looking.

## What Will History's Verdict Be On Franklin D. Roosevelt?

THIS is so admirable a summary of the achievements and policies of President Roosevelt that we print it in full. It is from our valued cotemporary, *Progress*, of Melbourne, Australia.

The eyes of the world are concentrated upon the United States of America. There is seen a concerted attempt to meet locally the universal depression which threatens in its course the very existence of the great Republic. A current story, if true, shows the serious climax already reached there. Said one of Mr. Roosevelt's friends to him regarding his Recovery Plan: "If this thing wins you will be the greatest President in history." He replied: "If it loses I shall be the last President in history." He also has said: "Unless there is a drastic change we cannot go through another winter." One newspaper writes: "If Roosevelt's programme fails we have not yet seen anything in the way of depression and collapse."

Fear of the future is so great that it has arrested political partisanship. The historic Republican Party is dumb; erstwhile free-spoken Democratic leaders say, "Yes, Mr. Roosevelt," while the President, his Brain Trust and the National Recovery Administration, known as N.R.A., are looked up to and obeyed by the multitude as an orchestra follows the baton of the conductor.

The appalling seriousness of the whole situation lies in this practically general passive acquiescence, for, if after all this display of confidence and obedience on the part of the great majority, and surrender of opponents, N.R.A. culminates in a disastrous breakdown, then must follow a reaction. Turmoil and chaos will shake the U.S.A. to its foundations, the effect of which will reverberate throughout the world.

That the programme must fail to restore prosperity seems inevitable for it is only a rehash of superficial experiments tried more or less elsewhere without success. For instance, regarding the N.R.A. policy of putting unemployed upon public works. Mr. Runciman, speaking on behalf of the British Government last July, said: "We have terminated our scheme for dealing with unemployment by way of capital expenditure works. We shall not reopen those schemes. We are abandoning this policy once for all. We have in recent years devoted about £100,000,000 sterling to schemes of this kind. For every £1,000,000 sterling expended we have employed 2,000 men directly and about 2,000 indirectly. It is expensive, and it is not an experiment we intend to repeat."

Another N. R. A. scheme, that some should work less hours, to enable others to obtain work, evades the labor problem which hinges on the question of justice: on the mal-distribution of wealth, and not on the distribution of labor hours. Schemes to raise prices and provide employment are now in operation, cancelling each other, such as rooting up cotton—which means less employment in cotton spinning and contingent industries, less transport activity, etc. Allotting \$200,000,000 to hog growers for curtailing their output, and sacrificing 5,000,000 hogs to raise prices means so much less employment in the food industry. The reclamation of 2,000,000 acres of land while other land is being put out of cultivation, and while \$150,000,000 is paid as rental to farmers for leaving portions of their corn lands idle; also reducing oil production by about 350,000 barrels daily, must mean more unemployment in the long run. Such vast expenditures cannot go on indefinitely, but these lunatic activities are in the meantime accepted as the highest wisdom. Up till now in the programme the land and taxation questions, preeminent over all others and the underlying cause of the trouble, have been ignored with the exception of \$25,000,000 being allotted for the purpose of setting a certain number of families of the unemployed upon the land—another outworn idea.

One wonders whether Mr. Roosevelt with his intellectual capacity knows the real remedy for the depression, and whether he hopes that after the trying out of the present schemes the people will divert their thoughts into the right channel? Whether he has in the back of his mind, "You have faith in the present nonsense. Nothing will satisfy you till you have experimented with it. Go ahead! Having learned how NOT to do it, you may then listen to reason and try the right course."

On protective tariffs we know Mr. Roosevelt's mind. In his candidature for the Presidency he said:

"In the past the proposition has been laid down with great boldness that high tariffs interfere only slightly, if at all, with our export or our import trade; that they are necessary to the success of agriculture and afford essential farm relief; that they do not interfere with the payments of debts to us; that they are absolutely necessary to the economic formula for the abolition of poverty. The experience of the last four years has unhappily demonstrated the error of every single one of these propositions; that every one of them has been one of the effective causes of the present depression, and finally that no substantial progress or recovery from the depression, either here or abroad, can be had without forthright recognition of these errors."

On the land question he is evidently a student of Henry George, for he frequently quoted him when Presidential candidate, and we read in American papers he has written of Henry George as the "Master mind." Mr. Roosevelt then surely should know the true remedy, the abolition of the colossal collection of the People's Land Rent by private individuals, and that it should be turned into the public treasury, with the coincident total abolition of the vast network of taxation blighting the country's industry.

What a blessing would it be, ere it be too late, were Mr. Roosevelt to tell forth the truth and become a modern Moses, showing the way to the Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey. Thereby would he become not only the greatest President of the United States, but one of the greatest men in world history.

Or will he, presuming he has the knowledge, like others in high position who know the way of Justice and Freedom—we have them in Australia—fail to dedicate himself to his high task, and as President leave behind him an unhonored name, and his country weltering in misery?

What is the verdict awaiting Franklin D. Roosevelt?

## Equality of Opportunity

OUR leaders of thought and action in the community are disappointingly slow in presenting a logical cause for the distressing social condition that the people of all countries have been groaning under for the past three years, or any safeguard against a recurrence when the present storm has passed. Surely, no subject that engages men's attention could establish a stronger claim for intelligent action than this. Much money and effort have been devoted to research in recent years, the purpose for the most part being to increase the profits of capital. Can it be said that it has a superior claim to that of human welfare and security against such conditions as now prevail? It is evident that we need not hope for our legislators to do anything to point a way through. From the head of the national government down to the humblest councilor, they are busied in looking up new sources of revenue and, incidentally, new burdens for the people whose interests they are supposed to represent.

As a matter of reducing the city's idle throng a plan has been evolved of moving families to the hinterland of the province, where the land speculation does not yet seem to have been attracted. Still another plan is to arrange for the unemployed to have temporary plots of land in the city where the landlord spider has spun his little web and is waiting for his hungry human fly to come in. Those who have had their sympathies drawn to the dire results of the game that is being played and have had to come to the aid of their suffering neighbors, might

be expected to give heed to the chain of circumstances. For a time that we may call normal, the law of supply and demand functions fairly well. Then added capital, encouraging invention, develops a surplus supply in the factory, the elevator and the storehouse. An excess demand soon follows, but it is in the workman's cellar and pantry. The first is stalled for the want of a paying market. The second, represented by labor, starves in idleness because it lacks the one essential of production. What is this essential? The answer is found in the flight to idle land in the north and the city plots. A bare subsistence for a very few may be found there, but—let him who would see open his eyes. If giving access to the natural element to labor can be made to benefit in a very small degree, what might be hoped for from a wholesome restoration to the dispossessed and idle millions of their birthright lost by that most iniquitous steal of the ages, private land ownership? The evils traceable to this wrong are not removed by any little schemes to enable a few families to provide themselves with potatoes and cabbage. The families who are being exiled up near the North pole out of the immediate reach of the land speculator have an equal right with their fellow Canadians to the most valuable sites in the largest city. The easy plan of recognizing this natural right by collecting all annual land values into the public treasury and expending them for the general good would render taxation of every kind unnecessary. Labor as well as legitimately used capital would thus be set free and with an equality of opportunity the lion and the lamb might lie down together, and in this goodly land blighting depression would disappear.

E. S. GILBERT in Hamilton (Ontario) *Spectator*.

## A Plea For Political Action by the Initiative

LETTER TO THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

THIS assembly is not divided on the solution of our economic ills. There has not been nor will there be any revision of the economics of "Progress and Poverty." We need no patching like many movements for recovery. The question with us is to find the best way to get the attention of others on the solution.

Is there a way to make our work more effective? Can we create opposition and get the attention of the multitude? That will bring it into discussion, make it negative as well as positive, for and against, as in our sports and other contests?

Without finding fault with any one in the movement, I see a great need of collective action. We have a plan to abolish poverty and there should be a plan to get the people to see the plan. We have mastered economics. Now we must find the best plan to give it application.

We now seem to be inclosed from the rest of the world that we are trying to reach. We have schools and colleges, press and radios, but these channels or roads are so occupied that our voice is like a Voice in the Wilderness of Chaos. But there is a road for us and the people that we can use and no one can exclude us from it. We will not have to depend on others for a Right of Way. This road is the initiative in four of our States. The Initiatives in either of these States are good vehicles to convey our thought and at the same time put it in operation.

This plan for political action by the initiative is a plan to get our work out of "slow" into "high speed." It is the "Line of the Least Resistance." We can frame our own measure and ask people to sign the legal petition. This will get the signers' interest and make our own publicity and create the opposition that will give us the help we need to break the silence that our movement is shrouded in today. It is the way to put the Single Tax on the bill of fare.

We will fail as Custodians of the Knowledge that we have from "Progress and Poverty" if we do not use our organized effort to have a measure on the ballot in one of these States. The Single Tax seed

will grow now if planted in this way, for the people are seeking a change.

Some of you see the need of this collective action and I suggest a committee can give it the consideration it deserves. The Henry George Foundation can act as the promoting organization for a measure in any State that has the initiative. This will give indorsement and lead to a political action that will get us working together as an army. This work, like running a railroad or any other service that requires collective action, needs a head to function.

The N.R.A. we know will fail. It leaves the land owners at the feast while those that provide the feast are made to divide what this economic parasite does not devour. However, as this experiment will end in another blind alley, the people should more readily then vote "Yes" for the Single Tax if they have the opportunity. This conference is the logical body to take action at this opportune time. It will be a good investment for Single Tax Dollars.

St. Louis, Mo.

E. H. BOECK.

## Radio Speech of Harry Wein- berger for Welfare Committee

THROUGHOUT my career my interests have always been in economic justice, never in charity. But until the problems of economic justice are solved, someone must come to the relief of those families in acute need.

Everything I am, or almost everything I am, I owe to the City of New York. Born in the City of New York, and educated in its free public schools and high schools, I desire to give back to my city in its present great crises a little of the things that it gave to me.

There are in the City of New York at the present time, two hundred and fifty thousand families on the public relief roll, and at least thirty thousand families are in desperate need. Jobs and food and shelter are being taken care of by the City, the State and the Nation, and will continue to be taken care of by the City, the State and the Nation, but if every unemployed individual was given a job tomorrow, there would still be families who need the aid of the experienced social workers because of maladjustment, sickness, hopelessness, physical and mental breakdown in the families. Four million dollars are needed for this purpose. Some families are in a shell-shocked condition as much as any soldier was shell-shocked during the great war, on the battle-fields.

To me the most pitiful sight in the world is a man ready, able and willing to work, and unable to find work. The only thing that can be more pitiful is a family almost at the point of destitution, seeking help and unable to find it.

In my bringing up in the City of New York I have known poverty, I have known what it was to have the streets of New York City as my only playgrounds. I felt the lack of parks, of playgrounds, of swimming places. I have never lost my memories of my boyhood days in New York City. I have travelled to many cities of the world, but wherever I have gone, my heart always comes back to New York City as my home town. I have seen the beauty of Budapest, built on two hills, the loveliness of Vienna, on the Blue Danube, London on the sleepy Thames with almost every spot in the town old with historical memories, Mexico City on the mountain tops, Paris with its glamour, and parks, and wide boulevards, its marvelous art galleries, but always I come back to my New York City, situated at the cross-roads of the world, silhouetted against the sky, nestling between two rivers facing Europe—magnificent in its skylines—within its bounds the finest art, the finest theatres; with industry and trade, the last word in great progress, but in its border, like all other cities, also great poverty—great need.

Wherever I have gone in my travels I have always visited the art galleries and the theatres of every city. I have studied the great paintings and the sculpture of all nations. I have always been enthralled

by the great actors and actresses everywhere. In the art galleries and in the theatres, I have always been aware of the curious power of hands.

There are wonderful hands shown in paintings, described in literature, and great actors on the stage usually have hands of superb power. I have seen the marvelous hands of Christ as shown in paintings—the powerful, decisive hands of Moses as shown in paintings and in sculpture. I have seen the pictured hands of Washington and Jefferson, Thomas Paine and Lincoln, and I have seen the living, marvelous hands of Roosevelt and Henry George and Eugene V. Debs, and on the stage the hands of Eleanor Duse and Maude Adams, Forbes-Robertson and Barrymore. I have seen hands of toil, I have seen nursing hands, tender hands, and in this campaign, it seems to me all the needy families of New York have their pleading hands stretched out for help, pitiful hands, despairing hands, desperate hands, hands of babies, hands of men, hands of women. Those hands are pleading with you; will you, if you can, stretch out answering hands of help?

I saw the parade for children on Broadway Thanksgiving Day, the floats, the funny animals, the clown, the balloons. I heard the laughing voices of happy children, and saw the smiling faces of parents, and at the same time as I walked along I thought of the faces of other children who could not laugh, the faces of other parents who could not smile. If you are satisfied and safe, sheltered and surrounded with the love of family, from out of that enclosure, send forth your dollars to those who need help.

American character as shown in its history, is to have courage to face the adversities of life. This country was settled by pioneer men and women who faced adversity. The poet Henley well may have described Americans in his little poem known as "Invictus:"

"Out from the night that shelters me,  
Black as the pit from pole to pole,  
I thank whatever Gods there be  
For my unconquerable soul;

In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced or cried aloud,  
Beneath the bludgeoning of chance  
My head is bloody but unbowed."

But after three years or more of this depression and unemployment, courage has almost failed for many, caught in conditions over which they have no control, seeking jobs when there are no jobs to be had.

This poverty problem challenges our sense of justice; hunger and want amidst plenty cry for help; this emergency requires immediate solution. Why with great progress comes great poverty, is the riddle of the Sphinx that calls for a remedy.

## Mark M. Dintenfass

THE death of Mark M. Dintenfass on Nov. 23 at Cliffside Park, N. J., where he had lived for a number of years, removes from the scene of his activities a devoted friend of the movement. Mr. Dintenfass was born in Austria fifty-five years ago.

It was in years gone by that Mark listened to a group of Single Tax advocates on the street corner in Philadelphia. At this time he ran the Fairyland Theater on Market street. The doctrines preached by the Henry George men attracted him; he approached the group and volunteered the use of his theater on Sunday evenings when no pictures were being shown. This offer made without charge, was accepted, and for a long time the speakers held forth in the little theater on Sabbath evenings. And the young man was at all times an eager listener.

When the Single Tax party movement began Mark was at once attracted and became an earnest crusader. He was a member of the party's executive committee, associating himself with W. J. Wallace, Robert C. Macauley, James A. Robinson, and Miss Charlotte Schetter. The three first named have passed away, and almost the sole survivors of the militant group are Herman G. Loew and A. Bourgeois. This phase of Single Tax activity has passed away, though it may return. In 1919 Mark ran for governor of New Jersey.

In 1908 he formed the Chapin Film Company at Fort Lee and shortly after organized the Universal Film Manufacturing Company of which he was treasurer and secretary until 1916. In 1918 he produced the screen picture "My Four Years in Germany," based on the book by James W. Gerard.

Funeral services were held at the Riverside Memorial Chapel. Oscar H. Geiger officiated and read from "Progress and Poverty." About four hundred persons were present. Mr. Geiger also spoke impressively at the interment.

Mr. Dintenfass is survived by his wife, Esther Wallace Dintenfass.

## Walter L. Sinton

WALTER L. SINTON, who died Sept. 29 of last year, was born near Belfast, Ireland, in 1858.

All his life he had been a seeker after truth. He said, "I want the truth whether I like it or not." His friend, Charles T. Townsend, of San Francisco, writes of him: "His whole life was bound up with the life of humanity, and so sensitive was he that he suffered in his person all the miseries of our rotten social system. As Isaiah said: 'By his righteousness shall my servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities'. Knowing that it was impossible for man to live without doing everything that is unrighteous he considered that no man had any right to life unless he devoted his life entirely to bringing about a just social system. His whole life bore witness to that belief."

He suffered little physical ailment until his seventieth year when disease began to encroach upon him, and to this he finally succumbed.

Walter Sinton found the truth he craved for in the spiritual unity of all things. This made him a not unwilling convert to the principles of economic law as taught by Henry George. This thought he expounded and elaborated in his "Spiritual Law and Economics Harmonized," and in several miscellaneous pamphlets, and in an unpublished work on the history of Quakerism.

There are not many men capable of following Walter Sinton's philosophy. Some will call it mystic and disregard it for that reason. But it cannot be dismissed in that way. What he called his "illumination" was very real to him, as real as it was to Saul of Tarsus, Whitfield,

or the Maid of Orleans. What the orthodox of two or three generations in the days when self-examination was more common than it is today called "conversion" was very real to them, and for the most part had an enduring effect upon their lives. So with Sinton's "illumination," which was a spiritual experience which determined the whole of his after life. Give what name you may to these spiritual crises through which some gifted souls are destined to pass they are to them as actual as the more mundane experiences which are the sum of most human lives. It does seem as if Sinton were one of the prophets, as Henry George himself was, as Emerson was, as Carlyle was, despite his physical crabbedness. Such men are rare.

Walter Sinton had little use for polite conversation, but his Irish wit was often manifest at social gatherings.

Bolton Hall's "Things as They Are" is based on Sinton's life and letters. Reading it we learn more of Sinton, the Man.

## Byron W. Holt

**I**N the death of Byron W. Holt, Dec. 11, 1933, justice and truth have lost another champion. Mr. Holt was always on the alert for opportunity to exert his influence in favor of a just cause.

For years, this indefatigable, patient and scrupulous statistician produced volumes of tariff literature, the most part of which was credited to his pen. He was not only a student of facts and figures but had a perception of principles, giving exceptional value to his deductions. The special faculty which he possessed would have commanded a high price in the open market provided it had been made available for selfish ends.

His talent was often utilized by organizations and political aspirants; his careful words often gave unearned reputations to their users; but never was evasive or untrue matter furnished. The recompense, far exceeding any stipulated payment for service, was the opportunity for diffusing and advancing the cause of real democracy.

The American Free Trade League and the New York Reform Club were indebted to Mr. Holt for some of their most authoritative literature. In Congress and in the press his figures inspired speeches and editorials and furnished campaign orators with trustworthy ammunition. His unbiased judgment and sterling integrity compelled the respect of his associates.

As editor of "Plate," and "Ready-Print," for the Sound Currency Committee of the Reform Club in the 1896 campaign, Mr. Holt's work was especially effective. The matter edited by him was used in 3,000 newspapers, largely in the doubtful states of Iowa, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota and West Virginia. It would have required less than 20,000 additional votes properly distributed among these doubtful states to elect Mr. Bryan president.

Mr. Holt edited the Democratic campaign book of 1902,

some of the matter being used in the books of 1904 and 1912. Early in 1912, the Tariff Reform Committee, of which Mr. Holt was then chairman, decided that Governor Wilson, of New Jersey, a free trader, was the best man to boost for the Presidential nomination. They gave him a dinner at the Hotel Astor and started rolling the ball that ended in his nomination and election. Mr. Holt planned the campaign and wrote practically all of the speeches that were used to elect W. L. Douglass Governor of Massachusetts in 1904. He was Mr. Douglass' writing secretary after election, and was called the "Sherlock Holmes" of that administration.

Mr. Holt was an ardent believer in taxing land values and untaxing everything else so far as possible, believing that this would result in the destruction of monopoly, a complete recognition and protection of private property rights and a commonwealth based on the antithesis of socialism or communism.

At the time of his death Mr. Holt was treasurer of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. He leaves not only a vast amount of useful work accomplished in the interest of economic truth, but many co-workers and friends who lament their loss, and who will miss him sadly.

G. R.

**T**HE evil is expressed in a few words, and sooner or later the nation will appreciate it and rectify it. It is the alienation of the soil from the State, and the consequent taxation of the industry of the country.

PATRICK EDWARD DOVE, "Theory of Human Progression," 1850.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### AN INTERESTING WORK\*

The future historian, surveying the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt must devote considerable space to the "Brain Trust" surrounding him.

We venture to predict that the historian will rub his eyes in amazement to read that in this age, so-called "Wise Men" could be found who would seriously advocate the destruction of wealth amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, in the form of cotton, wheat, hogs as the road to national recovery.

In this book Mr. Neilson, with gentle ridicule, exposes these blind professors who are leading a blind President up a blind alley.

As our author well says, (page 90),

"They are landlord's men to a man, and pretty nearly every scheme that has been passed by Congress since Mr. Roosevelt took office will make the landlord richer some time or another."

B. W. B.

### A ROBBERY OF THE LIVING AND THE UNBORN\*

Here is a book which will provide an armory of facts for those of our British friends who are advancing against the fortress of land

\*Control From The Top. By Francis Neilson; clo. 190 pp. Price \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y. City.

owning privilege. First we are arrested by the startling "jacket" of attractive design with the barred gate and "Strictly Private" lettered across the iron grating. To whomever was responsible for this, our congratulations!

And then the book itself with its fascinating history of landownership and the long tragic story of the alienation of the workers from the land.

Just a glance at the chapter headings reveals something of its contents: The Land of the Realm, How They Hold Our Land, Our Stolen Lands, Lords of the Land, Landholders in the Commons, Landlords in Local Elections, etc., etc. To quote significant extracts would be to quote the book itself entire, for it is the most thorough indictment of landlordism that has appeared to date. And no words are wasted. There are no superfluous sentences. The guns are turned upon the formidable fortress of landed privileges, and every shot tells.

The work will aid land restoration as no other work has done. There is no talk of the Single Tax, nor the taxation of land values—that is not Graham Peace's way. Nothing but a law of the Commons providing for the immediate collection of the full economic rent and the abolition of all taxation! And in doing this they will have the support of the best authorities on English law. Legally as well as morally the land of Great Britain is vested in the people of England and under the crown.

The Constitutional History by Stubbs says: "The king of Domesday is the supreme landlord of all the land of the nation; the old folk and has become the king's and all private land is held mediately or immediately of him." And Mr. Peace adds: "This, the central theory of English law, has not been changed through the centuries."

When the people of the United Kingdom realize that the whole question of unemployment can be solved by the restoration of an ancient right, how long will they hesitate? Conservatives may delay the day of resumption and salvation, but how long will they hesitate? Conservatism may itself be enlisted for the restoration of the land rights of the English people in accordance with the older laws that have never been repealed and today form the basis of English law.

Again, congratulations! This is one of the most telling books in all our literature. We owe Mr. Peace a profound debt of gratitude for a splendid piece of work superlatively well done, that will serve the purpose of educational and political propaganda up to the very time that shall crown the triumph of our principles. Not until that day will this book fail to serve us.

J. D. M.

\*The Great Robbery, by J. W. Graham Peace, clo., 128 pp. Commonweal Press, price 3s 6d. 43 Chancery Lane, London, 2 W. C. England.

## Correspondence

TUGWELL HODGE-PODGE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Prof. Tugwell believes that we can do better in the long run than continue a pattern of land settlement which is essentially "hodge-podge" provided we proceed "not by mandate but by providing new and better opportunities—renewed frontiers—within our borders."—*New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1934.

With all due respect to the Professor his problem can not be solved by buying out those able to subsist on marginal lands. It has no more chance of curing the disease that he knows exists than an opiate has of curing a broken leg. The hodge-podge Mr. Tugwell objects to is certainly an anomaly in a land so gifted by the Creator with every possible feature of topography and climate and which once could be used for nothing. This hodge-podge is not the cause of our distress. It is the inevitable effect. It could never have occurred if the land had not been given away or sold, first by the Crown, and then by the Colonial Governments, and lastly by the Federal Governments through its Homestead Laws. If such land had been retained by the

people through their governments, colonial, state, or otherwise, we would now be spared any problem of marginal cultivation. Under secure leases from the government no men would be forced to use lands which can provide but a bare subsistence no matter what the expenditure of labor or capital.

The cause is land monopoly. The best lands can not be had except at a price. Therefore they are in great part held out of use. They can not be forced into use by spending \$25,000,000 to buy out all the holders of marginal and submarginal lands. Production will be limited to the better lands but the hodge-podge will continue, the least productive of the better land now in use will become marginal land and real wages will be forced still lower. The reason is this; as the withholding of the better lands forced men to poorer lands and lowered the margin of cultivation so will the withdrawal of marginal lands force their users from employment at living wages to idleness at no wages at all. They must be supported by those employed and the necessary taxation will cause the margin of cultivation to rise so that lands once able to produce a surplus will now produce but a bare living. Methods of agriculture under this weight of taxation will be forced to deteriorate instead of improving. Look at India or Egypt. The owners of land out of use and the landlords of tenant farmers will not be affected except as the standards of living is lowered for they will continue to receive without returning goods or services. Real wages will be depressed because of the drain upon production to support non-producers.

Men do not choose the hardest way of doing things as Prof. Tugwell well knows. It is an axiom that man seeks to gratify his desires with the least effort. Thus inventions are made, new processes discovered, new lands opened. Therefore, since he sees the futility of overcoming this hodge-podge settlement of America by mandate and the necessity of providing new and "better opportunities—renewed frontiers—within our borders," why not force the frontier into use by collecting its economic rent for the people of the United States? It is useless to complain about the use of marginal lands when nothing is done to remove the cause, so give man a chance to work without paying tribute to some other man for the privilege and the necessity of planning will disappear with the opening of the new old frontier.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN LUXTON.

### ASSEMBLE THE FACTS AND PUT THEM TO WORK

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

President Hennessy's idea regarding the assembling of data bearing on land speculation as the cause of depressions and panics is excellent.

Recently I have been noting the marked differences between the prices received at auction sales in foreclosures and the assessed value of the parcels sold. If these values are any criterion of real values then they are surely bargain sales. The liquidation of speculative values is inevitable and must take place before recovery comes. But evidence based on such transactions can hardly be regarded as convincing because it lacks the factor of mutual agreement between a willing seller and a willing buyer.

Perhaps my reasoning is faulty or my presentation weak, but I seem to have difficulty in establishing such convincing evidence. Quite lately instances came to my notice which for me at least provided convincing evidence, but I was not able to use it so that others would be convinced.

One dealt with a parcel of land recently offered for development purposes. It consists of approximately six acres located in a district the site value of which is the highest in the town. Assessments on adjacent land mostly improved bears at least some relation to its value for use but the particular parcel was assessed as pasture land. The owner kept a few highly bred dairy cattle and at such times as the weather would be injurious to such delicately nurtured creatures they were allowed to graze on this tract. The peculiarities of certain state laws were thus satisfied. The assessors were forced to value this tract,

surrounded and served by all the facilities of a modern city, as though it were an ordinary farmstead. Conversation with a town official brought this case to my notice. He could see certain injustices in the situation, but the idea that so simple an incident might furnish the key to the riddle of economics was in his opinion preposterous.

What kind of facts do we need? Can we find them in the projected programmes of slum improvement? Already the question of land values in relation to such projects is beginning to present a serious problem. And the haphazard development contains illustrations that will provide convincing evidence. Let us decide the kind of facts we need, assemble them and put them to work.

Brookline, Mass.

GORDON L. MACLAREN.

### ARE THE ECONOMIC LAWS NATURAL LAWS?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I deplore your constant use of the expressions "natural taxation," natural rights and natural laws. Henry George followed the 19th century style in using words. I have no doubt he knew exactly what he meant by them. An exact scholar would not be confused. But most of us are not exact scholars. The words nature and natural rights have a pernicious history in the English language, beginning even before the time of Rousseau.

I commend a study of the works of the late Prof. Irving Babbitt to land taxers in that connection. As a result of that history these words have about as many meanings as there are readers of them. They serve as a basis for the antithesis of exact reasoning, and often confuse the idea and furnish opportunity for dangerous misconceptions. Land reform is nothing more than the application of human intelligence and common sense to problems created by human experience. To call it "natural" might easily lead to the idea, so often conveyed by the word, that it is something extra human, or a supernatural mystery, which it is not.

Cincinnati, O.

F. B. MCCONAUGHY.

### REPLY

Whether we choose to cite natural law in the movement of the heavenly bodies as furnishing an analogy, or whether we speak of the natural order as merely the sequence of cause and effect, makes but little difference. We need not summon Rousseau either in proof or disproof. His extravagances need not concern us. We assume a moral order in the universe; a physical law in the physical world; shall we then dispute economic sequence of cause and consequence? Shall we ignore also the lesson indicated when government is instituted and land values spring into being and are increased as the functions and services of government increase? If this does not point to a natural law, to which also the law of justice and morals is closely allied, we do not know the meaning of words.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

### QUESTION OF NAME

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

From time to time discussion rages over whether Single Taxers are adequately named. This is doubtless important, but it seems just as important adequately to designate their opponents.

Multiple taxers is a term sometimes used. It designates, just as does the term Single Taxers. But it does not describe.

Multiple taxers believe in levying a number of taxes on every one. In addition, they believe in levying several other taxes, which will be passed to those on whom the first set of taxes are levied. As a corollary they propose exemption of land, so that the payer of the two above set of taxes will be required to pay a high price, and give a large mortgage and on which he will pay much interest, when he establishes his homestead. The mortgage and the interest constitute tax No. 3.

Each of us is therefore loaded up under three well defined systems of taxation.

Triple taxers might be fairly descriptive of the opponents of Single Taxers.

High taxers might be a broader, more readily grasped, and consequently more easily popularized term. By contrast, Single Taxers, standing for the extinction of the systems of the High Taxers, would become Low Taxers.

Madison, Wisc.

CRAIG RALSTON.

### FROM A NEW ZEALAND VETERAN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am much too busy to write you at length, but must say that LAND AND FREEDOM is always interesting, and with such an immense territory as your country comprises, you should have by this time a fairly large clientele. I am always wondering when the United States are likely to make an advance. It seems to me that your line of least resistance is the tariff. Woodrow Wilson was able to cut off 28 per cent of the American tariff at one fell swoop, imposing an income tax to replace the revenue. True, the war has given the tariff-mongers a chance of which they have taken the fullest advantage but the prevailing high tariff is working such mischief that it ought to yield to something like a strong attack, and even an income tax might be accepted by our men in the meantime, because it would be much easier to arouse opposition to that than to indirect taxation. However, I have never expected anything from the new Roosevelt regime inasmuch as Roosevelt, unlike Wilson, has come into power committed to nothing of a definite or tangible character.

In this country we are in the throes of industrial depression for some time now. To Henry George men the cause is quite clear, but it is wonderful how perverse men are, even those who affect an interest in social reform. The latest craze in this country is called the Douglas Social Credit Plan, but it is terribly respectable, and will soon run its course and go out of fashion.

Still, there are more Henry George men in this country now than ever before, and we keep on talking, writing—and hoping. Though we have no organization in this country to push electoral reform, most of Henry George's followers both here and in Australia are in favor of proportional representation, and for my own part I am convinced that it is of great importance for the reason that were the proportional system in operation, we would have continual representation in Parliament. The single-member electorate make minority representation impossible, unless by accident.

Wellington, New Zealand.

P. J. O'REGAN.

### MORE OF NATURAL LAW

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

May I say a word of warning that the kindly article by Chester C. Platt, page 185 in the Nov.—Dec. issue, may be misinterpreted?

I refer to his comment at the bottom of the first column, page 186 where he speaks of the belief of Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown that "we make too much of the theory that there are certain natural laws sacred because really of divine origin." Then he adds: "Consequently it is said we are always seeking natural laws of economics, and then trying to conform to them. I know that a large school of Single Taxers hold to this view. Mr. Beckwith of *No Taxes* says in a recent article . . . ."

"This, I know from experience, will be accepted as descriptive of the natural-law school to which I am proud to belong. One sure way to have weeds in a garden is not to have anything else there. In the absence of a correct statement of our position, this language in Mr. Platt's article opens the way to a gross misconception.

The trouble is in the word "sacred." Perhaps it must be admitted

that those who do not understand our position might naturally guess as Mr. Platt did, that this idea is involved.

And yet what one of them ever referred to those who believe in the law of gravity as being influenced by any regard for things that are "sacred because really of divine origin?" Who ever heard of a mathematician who accepts the law of square or cube root being described as being bound by reverence for sacred things?

That Mr. Platt's reference to sacred things "really of divine origin" was not a mere slip of the pen is indicated by the fact that he follows it up by a reference to another school of thought which, he says, thinks this belief "entirely inconsistent with modern evolutionary philosophy."

There is no need to take space here to explain what we mean by natural laws. Suffice it to say that, if the reader has a clear conception of what he means by the law of gravity, by the law of the lever, by the law of cube or square root, by the law of expanding gases, by the laws of refraction and other laws in nature, he is prepared to understand what we mean by the eighteen natural laws of economics which I include in The Economic Code.

To those who say that these laws are only tendencies or probabilities, I reply: Very well, no matter! Whatever your law of gravity is, that is what these laws of economics are. We are not the least concerned with your hair-splitting *about* these laws; for when you are all through and agree as to *what* they are, then *that* is what our laws of economics are; for all we claim is that economics is a science as exact as any.

The explanation of natural law found in Dr. Schilpp's "De We Need a New Religion?" is very satisfactory. He says that by natural law we mean the way we find upon careful observation and scientific analysis that nature behaves under this or that circumstance, or this or that condition.

Stockton, Calif.

L. D. BECKWITH.

## OUR LAND GRABBING FOERFATHERS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Everybody, with the probable exception of Prof. Ely, knows that land speculation is the root of many unmitigated evils, too numerous here to mention.

But how many students know that in one case at least, the lust for land and speculation was productive of some good?

It will astonish many to learn that land speculation played a contributing role in bringing about the American Revolution. (I here consider the American Revolution as coming under the category of "good," although, I confess, I am well aware of the fact that the American people have failed to make use of this "good.")

But be that as it may it seems that the Mother Country was becoming jealous of her expanding offspring, and sought to curtail the growing power of the Colonies. Accordingly, the British Government, by a royal proclamation of 1763 ("Acts of the Privy Council," Colonial Series, The Unbound Papers, London 1911, VI, 513-8) forbade any governor "to grant warrant of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us . . . are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them."

This proclamation was particularly offensive to the Virginians, who not only actually owned immense tracts of land, but held large charter claims to lands beyond the limits defined by the royal proclamation. Perhaps, this helps to explain the fiery enthusiasm with which Virginia entered into the spirit of the revolution.

By way of parenthetical interjection, it may be said that instead of owing a debt of gratitude to the Fathers of our Country, we owe them nothing but severe malediction for, with the exception of such thinkers as Paine, Franklin, Jefferson and a few others, the majority of the

revolutionary leaders were land speculators and slave holders, Washington being the chief culprit among them.

It seems to me that we American people have expiated long enough for the sins of our Fathers, so that the time has arrived for another revolution—this time, a bloodless socio-politico-economic revolution which shall restore the land to the people via the socialization of the economic or social rent of land.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Prof. Tugwell wrote the biography of Henry George for the Encyclopedia of Social Science and succeeded in doing this without letting a word escape him that indicated an opinion concerning the work of the man whose history he was recording. That such an opinion, if expressed, would not have been complimentary may be inferred. It is a pity that he did not speak out. The followers of Henry George could not help but feel toward condemnation from such a source like Whittier in his poem, "The Exiles," where the tolerant liberal, Macey, responds to a clerical bigot's threat to curse him:

"Curse, an thou wilt" said Macey,  
"But thy blessing, prithee, spare."

Detroit, Mich.

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

## CALIFORNIA AWAKENS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Initial steps have now been taken toward organization of campaign committees under the general title of "Tax Relief." One committee has been formed for Northern California and one for Southern California. The committee for Northern California has as its president Edward D. Vandeleur, who is president of the Labor Council of San Francisco; Edward Pomeroy, treasurer, and S. Edward Williams (83 McAllister St., San Francisco), secretary. Its vice-presidents are George Creel, Andrew Furuseth, Edward L. Hubbard, and Jackson H. Ralston.

In Southern California the president is George W. Patterson (2422 N. Alvarado St., Los Angeles); secretary-treasurer, A. J. Samis (1945 Lamba St., Los Angeles), and its executive committee consists of the above, with Jackson H. Ralston, R. E. Chadwick, Laurie J. Quinby, Paul Scharrenberg and Edward D. Vandeleur.

The advisory committees of the two organizations include: Louis Bartlett (ex-Mayor of Berkeley), John Beardsley, Judge Rube W. Borough, J. W. Buzzell (Secretary of the Los Angeles Labor Council), George Cartwright, Mr. and Mrs. R. O. Caukin, William L. Chitty, George Creel, John F. Calton (President of Los Angeles Labor Council) George F. Dyer, Harry H. Farrell, Andrew Furuseth (President International Seamen's Union), Hamlin Garland, T. Perceval Gerson, O. C. Heitman (President San Diego County Labor Council), Adolph W. Hoch (President California State Federation of Labor), Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Hoffman, Dean Glenn Hoover, Robert L. Hubbard, Dr. Charles James, Mr. and Mrs. B. F. King, Robert G. Loucks, Andre B. Nordskog, John C. Packard, Alice Park, Lona I. Robinson, Albert C. Rogers, Frederick W. Roman, Dr. E. P. Ryland, Paul Scharrenberg, George Winfield Scott, Harry See, George J. Schafer, John I. Siebert, Upton Sinclair, E. M. Stangland, Lincoln Steffens, S. S. Taber, Dr. Lincoln J. Taft, Clarence E. Todd, F. G. Volkers, H. J. Voorhis, Elsie J. Webster, Samuel S. White, S. Edward Williams, J. Stitt Wilson (former Mayor of Berkeley), Col. C. E. S. Wood, David Woodhead, Fred Workman.

Petitions asking that the amendment referred to should be placed upon the ballot at the election in November of this year have been prepared and are being circulated as rapidly as possible in various portions of this State. There is, however, an urgent necessity for a number of active friends to engage in this work everywhere in Cali-

fornia. Our present undertaking is to secure by about the first of July 110,000 signatures.

In such experience as I have personally had with regard to the circulation of this petition, certain matters of interest may be noted. At least nine persons out of ten are opposed to the existing sales tax, which was put over by the real estate interests of California without an appreciation on the part of our citizens of what was taking place. The tenth person, however, believes that his property taxes and taxes generally have been reduced through the institution of the sales tax. He is disposed to ignore the fact that every day he pays out an appreciable amount of money which at the end of the year becomes formidable and which replaces any possible advantage he may have gained through the diminution of the tax upon his property, save in the relatively rare cases of large holders of property. He also ignores the utterly contemptible features of the system which compels the milk of babes and the bread of almost starving people to be levied upon for the benefit of those who are holders of considerable amounts of property.

My experience so far confirms the impression that the Single Taxers of this country have never properly appreciated the strength of their position before the public. I find at least six or seven men out of every ten ready to accept the idea that inasmuch as land values are the only things which benefit the community from the operations of government, so should land values be the only things taxed, and furthermore, that any tax upon industry and its results, either in the shape of houses or tangible personal property, brings about a diminution of production which ultimately results in great damage to the community. There seems to be an instinctive acceptance on the part of the vast majority of these propositions which we Single Taxers regard as self-evident. Indeed, they are of this character.

It would be entirely too much to say that the public at large accepts or understands many of the implications of what we are pleased to regard as the Single Tax philosophy; nor from a practical point of view is it necessary that they should be convinced adherents of all the fundamentals of our beliefs. It is quite enough that the practical applications we would make meet with their very general approval. Our argument, therefore, in the coming campaign will be limited to calling attention to the principle of which I have spoken and which are so readily accepted by the vast majority, and we will not indulge in any theoretical argument as to what may or may not happen in a far distant future. It will be sufficient for us to point out that industry will be revived and men put to work everywhere through this partial application of our belief, while at the same time the interests of justice in taxation will be subserved.

Will the campaign succeed? About this one cannot be absolutely dogmatic. I personally believe that with practical support from the Single Taxers throughout the country, and we must have it, pecuniarily and otherwise, we can undoubtedly win. I am basing this belief upon several things; for instance, many years ago, the campaign for home rule in taxation which was widely denounced as a Single Tax measure, received forty per cent of the votes of the then Californians. Very much more radical propositions than either home rule or taxation or that now presented have received as high as about thirty per cent of the entire vote. The margin, therefore, between past success and defeat is not an unbridgeable one. At the present time we are presenting a moderate, although radical and reasonable, proposition which makes its immediate strong appeal to what I am sure is today a very large majority of the citizens of California.

We do not ignore the fact that the contest will be severe. The realtors will become frantic, and will have large support from the banking element. The great newspapers of the state are owned by holders of tremendous tracts of land—probably, between them, as much as two million acres, and it may be more. They will probably resist through their papers the reform for which we stand. To oppose this is the fact that the land connections of which I speak are thor-

oughly well known throughout the state and the influence of the papers correspondingly discounted.

As a very solid backing for the campaign we shall have the State Federation of Labor, with 150,000 members. Other organizations are not unfriendly. For instance, last evening the Palo Alto American Legion Post resolved unanimously to support our amendment, and I expect the Post of Veterans of Foreign Wars in our neighborhood to take like action. These Posts will urge other Posts of the neighborhood to follow their lead.

An illustration of the fact that the strength of this movement while having the backing of organized labor is by no means limited to its membership is shown by the complexion of the first eighty-eight signatures to one of my own petitions. Among this number there were but six, who, as it happened, were members of any union, and the others were my neighbors as I chanced to meet them.

I shall endeavor to keep you informed as this campaign progresses. I cannot too much stress its importance. It may well be the turning point of our entire movement. Certainly the time has come for us to gather some fruit from our labors over the past fifty years.

Perhaps a few lines may be added. Besides visiting Stockton, where a variety of factors unite to bring about a most favorable situation, I have addressed 100 delegates forming the San Jose Labor Council. They by a unanimous vote endorsed the action of the State convention favoring abolition of the sales tax, and of taxation upon improvements and tangible personal property and provided for a committee to superintend the circulation of the initiative petitions.

In my own county of Santa Clara the local Posts of the American Legion and of the Veterans of Foreign Wars have unanimously come into line for the proposition, though formal action has yet to be taken on the latter but is undoubted. From each body young men have volunteered to visit all the other Posts of this and adjoining counties and they have the gift of enthusiasm.

My personal experience convinces me that the California public at least is ready for the measure of Single Tax this amendment gives it.

In my own speeches I represent the amendment as exactly what it is—exemption to the extent indicated—and do not let myself be controlled by fancy or imagination as to the great social reform we might be excusable for expecting under the complete application of the Single Tax. Limiting the argument to the bare logic of the situation, we have not to fear any charge of false promises if a complete millennium does not ensue upon the adoption of this partial measure. But we may be justified in believing that its good results will be great enough to assist us to take the next step of our journey.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

MAYOR ELECT MCNAIR conferred with Alfred E. Smith before his inauguration on the question of housing and said later in an interview: "Mr. Smith has been through a lot of things that I am facing and has been very kind in giving me some advice."

THE death of John F. Scott of Hewlet, L. I., a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM, is noted in the daily press. He was a son of William B. Scott, and was connected for the last ten years with the well known real estate firm of Pease & Elliman. He had graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1872 and was a member of the New York National Guard and many fraternal organizations. He had reached the age of eighty.

WILLIAM H. HOLLY, well known Chicago Single Taxer, has been appointed by President Roosevelt as a federal judge for the northern district of Illinois.

IN the figures given by Willis Malone in his letter printed in LAND AND FREEDOM for Nov.-Dec. (page 196) the total of the rent on both

land and improvements in the instance cited should be \$460,557.50 in place of the figure given.

JOHN M. MOORE, of Lancaster, Pa., writes: "I think your paper improves with every issue and is one of the ablest exponents of the philosophy of Henry George published anywhere." And continuing he says: "There has been no time when the public mind should be more attracted to the teachings of Henry George. They appear, it seems to me, the only permanent solution of the difficulties that confront us today."

SPENCER HEATH and Charles G. Baldwin have issued a four-page leaflet addressed to the governor of Maryland in response to a request from him for recommendations in regard to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. The pamphlet consists of liberal extracts from the article written by Henry George in 1889 under the title, "How to Destroy the Rum Power." With this most important argument supported by Adam Smith some of our readers are familiar.

IN the *Forum* for November appears a poem in free verse on Henry George. Both the prose introduction and the verses are instinct with a fine philosophy and an inspirational outlook on the man and his message. The author is Haniel Long.

OUR old friend William Matthews, of Spokane, has been appointed appraiser of the Subsistence Tax Department for Olympia, Wash.

"THE Radical Remedy for Economic Ills" is issued by the Civics and Economic League of Washington, D. C., of which Joseph B. Chamberlain is director. It is a beautifully printed pamphlet and is admirably written.

E. B. GASTON read the poem "Success" from Joseph Dana Miller's "Thirty Years of Verse Making," at a banquet given in the School of Organic Education of Fairhope, the occasion being a reception to the Fairhope, Ala. football team.

P. W. WILLIAMS will head the assessor's department under the McNair administration at Pittsburgh. Mr. Cornelius D. Scully will be the new city solicitor.

MORRIS P. DAVIDSON, for many years a Single Taxer and a member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, has been appointed by Mayor LaGuardia, Commissioner of Department of Water, Gas and Electricity.

F. W. MAGUIRE, of Pittsburgh, writes us that John C. Rose has completed the tenth and final weekly installment of his series of papers on "Why we Behave and Misbehave as We Do," in the *Labor Advocate*. It is a masterly analysis.

AN excellent reply to the slipshod review of Prof. George Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" in the Book Review of the *New York Herald-Tribune* was made by John Luxton. The *Herald-Tribune* did not print this devastating reply but did write expressing its opinion that the review was unsatisfactory. So far so good, but it was not good journalistic ethics to ignore Mr. Luxton's reply if injustice had been done.

WE acknowledge a Christmas greeting from C. Barsony, of Arad, Roumania. He concludes, "May the New Year bring good developments to both you and us here."

*The London Referee* heads an article on "Progress and Poverty" with the caption, "Best Seller for Fifty Years."

WILLIS MALONE, of St. Louis, addressed a convention of three hundred retail grocers in that city. It went over satisfactorily. Mr. Malone, who is an effective speaker, received quite a demonstration of approval at the close.

THE death of Robert E. Urell, of Mansfield, Pa., sees the passing of an old friend of LAND AND FREEDOM and a correspondent over many years. He died as he talked with friends at the club room in Mansfield, in which town he had been postmaster for nine years. He was 84 years old. Though vigorous to the last he wrote to us philosophically that his work was done. But it was only a few months ago that he lectured before the local grange, for he was ever ready to do his part in spreading the Single Tax gospel. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church and local masonic bodies. About a year ago he began a series of papers on the historical beginning of Mansfield and the Northern tier in the *Elmira Sunday Telegram*. With his snow white hair and mustache he bore a striking resemblance to Mark Twain.

ANOTHER of our old war horses to pass away is Howard M. Holmes, of Cleveland, O. He was editorial writer on the *Detroit News* but went to Cleveland during Tom Johnson regime and helped to found the Cleveland Single Tax Club. He served as reporter on the *Cleveland Leader* and was said to have been the highest paid reporter in the city. He served with J. W. Raper, now columnist of the *Cleveland Press*, and was a correspondent of the *Single Tax Review* and LAND AND FREEDOM. Up to a few years ago he was unremitting in his communications to this paper. Notes and clippings that were of use to us in the editorial conduct of the paper poured into us almost daily. He was 74 years old.

A DINNER was given in Pittsburgh to Mayor elect McNair on Dec. 9, and the committee of arrangements comprised Charles A. Poth, chairman; William B. Foster, Percy R. Williams, and George E. Evans.

A PERSONAL investigation of the workings of the NRA in several states takes the form of an admirable article in *Harper's* for January.

P. H. DONLON, of Ruthven, Iowa, is Speaker pro tem of the Iowa House of Representatives. He is a sterling Single Taxer.

ALBERT J. NOCK, author of the admirable article on Henry George in a recent number of *Scribner's*, writes Harry C. Maguire: "The great book on Henry George which I have so long been hoping for has been published in 'The Philosophy of Henry George,' by George R. Geiger. \* \* \* It is a most satisfactory work."

RODNEY EMSLEY wrote a Single Tax letter to the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* and was told that no more Single Tax letters would be printed by that paper.

HENRY WARE ALLEN, of 603 Brown Building, Wichita, Kan., is in need of a copy of "The Earth for All Calendar," by Ernest Crosby, published some years ago. Can some one of our readers supply this want?

FRANK STEPHENS writes: "Your part of LAND AND FREEDOM is admirably done, both in style and substance. It is tragic that it cannot be given a larger circulation."

A. FREELAND continues his illuminating letters to the press. A

recent communication from him in the *Seattle Daily News* reviews briefly the land systems of various countries.

JOHN B. BOTT, associate of Mr. Rea, late head of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and co-builder of the Hudson tubes, is dead at the age of 87 in Greensburgh, Pa. He was connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad for over thirty years, and was a life member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. He has been a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM for many years and was presumably of the faith. He is survived by his wife, two sons and one daughter.

WE learn that Philip H. Cornick, of the Schalkenbach Foundation, is the consultant in the preparation of land value maps for Westchester County. The record includes twenty-two municipalities in the county and has been issued by Wayne D. Heydecker.

*The American City* for January makes interesting reading for land value taxers. It notes that the New York City Affairs Committee declares in favor of taxing the increment on tax exempt land, although exempting present valuations. To quote from this declaration: "Whatever may be said about the right of a church to claim exemption on buildings and on land, there can be no claim by religious organizations to increased land values." Turning to other States the *American City* quotes a letter from Clement P. Griffin, its East St. Louis correspondent, in which he states that the Park Commission purchased 1,130 acres at a cost of \$206,000. They were breeding grounds of mosquitoes and other disease-breeding insects. These conditions were contended with until 1927 when the Park Commissioners started developments with a new bond issue! The citizens of East St. Louis are no wiser than those of other cities. They pay twice for all public improvements.

MISS BETTY COHEN, former secretary to James R. Brown, has been appointed one of the confidential secretaries to Mayor LaGuardia. It is an excellent appointment, for Miss Cohen has demonstrated her efficiency.

M. L. KATHAN, of Ophir, Ore., writes us: "In less than eleven years the Single Tax will be instituted in most of the leading nations of the earth. This is my prophecy." And he adds: "I notice that in part 12 of the Rotary Code the following: Society best holds together when equal opportunity is accorded all men in the natural resources of the planet."

ON November 29 Miss Frances Pleydell, daughter of our old friend A. C. Pleydell, was married at Plainfield to Chas. Minor Kreckel. Our best wishes to the young couple.

E. W. DOTY, of Cleveland, has been appointed impartial arbitrator in the Cleveland Railway dispute with the Amalgamated Street Railway employees. A Cleveland paper in announcing the appointment says of Mr. Doty: "An ardent advocate of the Single Tax theories of Henry George, as well as golf, Doty is perhaps closer to Peter Witt, the Van Swearingen traction adviser, than any other man."

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY, of Tacoma, Wash., son of the late E. Stillman Doubleday, writes us that U. S. Senator Bone, of Washington, who is a personal friend of Mr. Doubleday, has assured him that as soon as a definite Single Tax campaign is started he will be ready "to go into the fight for it." Mr. Doubleday thinks it might be worth while to keep after Senator Bone. The former has prepared a bill under which the state or any sub-division thereof may lease land, the lessor paying the economic rent as near as it can be ascertained.

WALDO J. WERNICKE, of Los Angeles asks Single Taxers to write

to their neighborhood newspapers urging that Henry George take his place in the Hall of Fame in 1935.

SAYS the *Daily Illustrated News* of Los Angeles: "More copies of Henry George's 'Progress and Poverty' have been sold than any other book on economics."

THE Chicago Central Council of the Youth of America held a banquet on Nov. 25. It was attended by over one hundred diners who listened to Clarence Darrow and Prof. James Weber Linn, columnist on the *Daily Times*. On Dec. 14 the Young Socialists debated the question "Can Capitalism be Saved?" with Central Council taking the affirmative before an audience of over 300.

FRANK CHODOROV writes us from Springfield, Mass.: "On my next trip West I am going to talk Oscar Geiger's School to Single Taxers I meet. If there is a spark of the old light left in them they must help I wish I knew how to sell the School to Single Taxers of the country I hope you will not consider it blasphemous but I think Oscar is the nearest incarnation of the Christ idea I have ever known. The teaching of the Single Tax is not only good pedagogy—it is inspirational. He doesn't deviate from or apologize for one word of Henry George. The simplicity and clearness with which he expounds the philosophy is, I believe, one reason why his students become enthusiasts. The other reason is Oscar himself. He teaches so that they understand. That understanding plus his sincerity produces faith I wish every Single Taxer in the country could sit in at one of his classes, could see the light of understanding, of revelation expressed in the faces of the young men and women students. If that were possible they would agree with me—that the Henry George School of Social Science is the hope of the continued life of our movement. May he who gives life be generous to us by preserving Oscar Geiger for many years, and may the Single Taxers help him carry on his work by their financial help."

THE "Abolish Poverty League" has been established with headquarters at 17 West 28th Street, New York City. The legislative committee consists of Gladwin Bouton, Benjamin W. Burger and Harry Weinberger. They call upon the Single Taxers of other States to draft bills with the aid of attorneys familiar with the State law and the constitutions of the forty-eight states. Those interested, and they include all our readers, should get in touch with the New York committee.

THE Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* of Jan. 12, contains an illustrated article entitled "McNair's Friend Maguire is the Happiest Man in Town." The illustration is a picture of two of the nurses at the hospital where Mr. Maguire has been for a time. They are leaning over him while he explains the Single Tax to them! Mr. Maguire was born in 1885 and is mentally and even physically active. The *Post Gazette* gives a biographical sketch of our friend and his work for our cause throughout the years.

FRANKLIN WENTWORTH, of Wellesley, Mass., addressed the International Association of Electrical Inspectors, at Chicago last Fall, and in the printed proceedings, his remarkable speech on "The Idea of Progress," appears in full. Mr. Wentworth calls attention of the assembly to the importance of Henry George, and to a consideration of George's ideas.

JOSEPH CARROLL, of Norfolk, Conn., writes that his article in September issue of LAND AND FREEDOM was reprinted in the *Winsted, Conn. Evening Citizen* of Nov. 28, under the heading "Norfolk Resident's Author's Article in Select Journal."

SENATOR REED, of Pennsylvania, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from our old friend W. A. Warren, formerly in the employ of the Soviet Government as an engineer, now of Hallendale, Fla., writes: "You state the case against currency debasement clearly and convincingly."

THE Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* says in its issue of Jan. 11: "In fairness to Mr. McNair it must be said that on many matters of major importance he has made a decidedly favorable impression. His cabinet selections have been considerably above the average. \* \* \* He has demonstrated that he has no lack of backbone and cannot be bullied."

"AN Ancient Remedy for Modern Depressions," the remarkable series of papers by Henry J. Foley running in the *Gaelic American*, still appearing. We have not the space to quote from these admirable articles. All are arresting and full of meat. We can cite only the following from one of these papers. Fuller quotations from what has been so admirably done would be impossible, and we again express the hope that this series may be published in book form.

If the tribute on work were abolished, and men could work without having to be hired, men could either work for themselves or bargain with their employers who must have their services or cease production. This bargaining would assure to the workers a fair share of the products of industry, instead of the minimum wage which is now the inevitable share of helpless workers.

AN informing series of papers by our friend A. C. Campbell, of Ottawa, and entitled "Canada's Natural Resources—the Basis of Future Greatness," has been running through the last four or five issues of the *Canadian Unionist*. We commend these articles as extremely well written, containing facts and illustrations which do immeasurable good. In them he treats of water powers, timber resources, radio, etc. We have only space for a single extract which appears on another page, but we must quote the following in addition: "It cannot be proved, but it can be stated—and let him disprove it who can—that the belief in public ownership of the soil which began with the change applied more than a century and a quarter ago to lumbered territory has educated Canadians to a proper understanding of public rights and public duties in relation to natural resources of all kinds."

LAWRENCE B. DUNHAM, son of the late Lawrence Dunham, long a Single Taxer and member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club in the old days, has been appointed to an important post in the LaGuardia Administration.

RAYMOND V. McNALLY, whose article on "The Price Complex and Fundamental Economics," appearing in this issue we commend to our readers, writes: "I appreciate your editorial comments in the Nov.-Dec. LAND AND FREEDOM. They contained the usual power and clearness. Your comment on the ideas of Mr. Platt, Prof. Brown and Mayor McNair I believe was necessary."

A FINE soul and a sterling Single Taxer passes in the death of Harold Benedict who died Jan. 7, at the age of 70. The funeral services were held at the Presbyterian Church and were conducted by Rev. Robert Longaker. Interment was at Hamptonburgh Cemetery, N. Y. Mr. Benedict is survived by his widow, Mrs. Grace V. S. Benedict, one daughter and two grandchildren. He was indefatigable in his work for the Single Tax cause. Prof. George Raymond Geiger in his "Philosophy of Henry George," pays him a tribute for his work on the manuscript of that admirable book. In this his labors were of great value. A friend of the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM since boyhood, and close associate for a number of years in his adult life, his death is a personal loss which is keenly felt. Our sympathies are extended to his devoted wife and family in their bereavement. Harold Benedict was a proof-

reader, a member of the Typographical Union, and had established intimate relations with such men as Claude Bowers, Harry Hensen, and Mr. Pollard formerly of the *World* and now of the *World-Telegram*. A fine, loyal spirit has departed.

VIRGIL JORDAN, who is a high authority, said recently: "The idea that any specific policies of the administration or any legislative measures applying those policies, are responsible for improvement in prices, employment or production since March is a delusion which will not bear statistical or economic analysis."

THE people of Mississippi will have an opportunity to vote for an out-and-out Single Taxer for Governor in the person of Dr. E. S. Copeland, of Jackson. The *Jackson Daily News* gives a full page to the statement with which Dr. Copeland announces his candidacy, and it is an eloquent and forceful presentation of the principles for which we stand. It is accompanied by a portrait of the candidate which shows a strong, handsome face. He says in part: "The land question is the most important question facing the people today, because without their lands they are helpless. It is necessary to solve the land question before we can solve the unemployment question, and by solving the land question and the unemployment question we also solve the tax question." The *Jackson Daily News* says editorially: "Mississippi is undoubtedly ripe—dead ripe—for a change. Our people are burdened with taxation and are engaged in a terrific battle to keep the wolf from the door. If Dr. Copeland can give any measure of surcease he is a good man for the post he seeks."

IOWA farm land values are up sharply for the year. There are increasing demands at \$75 to \$125 an acre. A year ago the average price was \$40 to \$80 per acre. Thus we sow the wind to reap the coming whirlwind.

CHILE has launched a big tax free programme for building homes.

OUR old friend Spencer Heath, of Elkridge, Md., writes in the *Baltimore Sun*, "There was never a royal road out of profligacy except by honesty and economy, no more for governments than for individuals."

A TABLET was recently unveiled to Andrew Hamilton, designer of Independence Hall, who at the age of 80 appeared as counsel for John Peter Zenger, then under sentence for criminal libel. The unveiling was at the County Lawyer's Association and Harry Weinberger delivered the address. Zenger was one of the earliest advocates of a free and unlicensed press. Mr. Weinberger's address was printed in part by the *New York Times* and in full by the *New York Journal*. He said that "no lawyer ever had a better case than Andrew Hamilton." The address was worthy of the occasion and the fine oratorical gifts of the speaker.

OUR readers are asked to note an astonishing event. Now listen with bated breath. The *Tribuna Georgista*, Single Tax paper of Buenos Aires, has a circulation of 161,000! This was made possible by the advertisement of a great department store and other advertisements in that city of the Argentines. Here is an idea that might be tried in this country. Congratulations!

WE are pleased to announce the publication from the press of John Day of this city of a work in the form of questions and answers by Irving Brant, and entitled "Dollars and Sense." A review of this admirable work will follow.

W. R. WHITELAW, of Cobourgh, Ontario, writes that "LAND AND FREEDOM is indispensable and brings glad tidings in every issue. It will not be long before our statesmen will be forced to face the issue."

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March — April, 1934

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

MARCH—APRIL, 1934

No. 2

## Comment and Reflection

DEMOCRACY, the assertion of the sovereignty and inviolability of the individual, begins with the French Revolution and the American war for independence. Its spokesmen were a few gifted Frenchmen, followed by Jefferson, Franklin and Paine. It did not begin under very promising auspices. The United States began by adopting most of the legendary superstitions of the old world, like slavery and the protective tariff, as corner stones of the new edifice. It was quite as tenacious of privilege as the old Europe from which it had broken away, despite Paine, whom we have not yet begun to understand.

NEVERTHELESS, democracy lumbered along in an ineffectual way for nearly three quarters of a century from the Confederation to the Civil War. This despite the extraordinary powers lodged in the Chief Executive, and the archaic mode of his selection. Following the Civil War democracy was powerless to effect an interruption of the insidious processes in which gigantic monopolies grew through the influence of a fostering tariff and railroad grants of land, great in area as empires. The concentration of wealth helped to create industrial dictators who dominated legislatures and in many cases controlled the judiciary. Democracy and all it connotes were chiefly useful in furnishing material for Fourth of July orations.

DEVICES of democracy which, it was hoped, would advance the cause of popular government, the direct primary, commission government, popular election of senators, et al., came and went and left not a wrack behind; democracy seemed powerless to make its instruments effective.

IF democracy is merely a toy with which the people amuse themselves while privilege rules triumphant, then is some stronger form of government needed to replace a system in which universal suffrage is demonstrably fifty per cent ineffectual, since only a small proportion exercise the privilege at all, and the fifty per cent that concern themselves with government seem to lack the necessary vigilance to prevent nation-wide abuses, then it is time to revise our notions of democracy and our entire political philosophy.

THE chief requirements of any well ordered society is that the people should *care*. Look around and ask yourself how much do they care. Their attitude toward political corruption is one of cynical indifference and toward economic and governmental problems an uninquiring ignorance. Men who will grow eloquent over automobiles and radios, when the tariff is mentioned mumble a few commonplaces or stupid shibboleths, or pure absurdities borrowed from the platforms of one or other of the old political parties, and then hastily drop the discussion.

NOR is the case greatly different with your college and university graduate. Government, and the problems with which it must deal is the least of his concern as it has been the least of his studies. If he remembers anything he has learned of political economy it is rarely or never the principles of the science, since he has probably been taught that there are no principles of universal application, but only rules of expediency. What he has learned may fit him for a professional or business career, but in most cases he graduates as little fitted for citizenship as a Fiji islander. What wonder that he has no intellectual curiosity about government and soon lapses into indifference? Presidential elections are only sporting events in which he takes the same interest that he does in horse racing or football. But that these should turn upon matters of real concern to the nation, that there are grave problems that need to be solved at such times, and that government is the agency which should act in solving them—these considerations rarely occur to him. His "politics," in which he exhibits a quite childish pride, is delightfully free from any attempt to get down to hard thinking about it.

NOR is the philosophy of present day writers likely to aid him. Of a piece with university thinking, most of them have little concern with moral principles. There are no moral principles that are unvarying; they are national, climatic or expedient, as fits the case; the Decalogue is an elastic yard measure, variously applied. He hears of pragmatism, behaviourism, and other isms, but that there are any ethical laws to which human conduct in society must conform or suffer the consequences, he is in utter ignorance. Nobody teaches it, so his democracy drifts a derelict on the political sea.

HOW account for what seems to the eyes of many the obvious failure of democracy? It is curious that the political philosophers who with unseemly haste assume that democracy is now ready for burial, never consider what would give Demos a new lease of life. They stop with the shallow sophistry of George Bernard Shaw that it is idle to expect the audience to run the show, as if this were a perfect analogy.

POPULAR sovereignty has broken down because democracy has been called upon to bear more than it can sustain. It has broken down because its organizers have assumed that it could safely concern itself with all departments of human activity. They did not see that it was functionally limited to a few matters of social concern. This can easily be seen in the case of Italy where fascism is the direct result of socialistic inefficiency which broke down under the load it was forced to carry. It behooves us to see if our own government does not present a similar analogy, though the consequences will not be the same everywhere. A high mettled thoroughbred has been asked to do the work of a dray horse.

THERE are certain things that political society or government must *not* do; there are certain things it *cannot* do. Its activities of late under the Roosevelt administration have been concerned mostly with the latter. We have therefore had little time to consider the things we ought to do. The faith in government held by the average individual is at the bottom of our troubles. "Pass a law"—that is the remedy for every difficulty that suggests itself to the average citizen. It is not realized that government is functionally limited to the things it may do.

IS not the individual something? Has he no rights that may be left to him, no matters that are his own concern, no temptations by which he may grow strong and develop his character in resisting? Has not the individual stripped himself of every democratic initiative? How then expect the political democracy he has erected to be truly democratic?

THERE are other and more important impediments to democracy. Our whole economic system is one of privilege. Government is bound up with it. Every senator is not merely a representative of the people of his state; he is the representative of some special interest, some monopoly, some big business seeking government favors. Senators are Railroad, Wheat, or Iron, or Cotton, or Silver Senators. And this not deliberately nor venally always, but actually because of the close partnership of government with privilege. The corrupting influence of the tariff, for one thing, is over all, a slimy trail.

DEMOCRACY is possible only where men are free; a political democracy is feasible only where it limits its activities to matters that are within its province and where the individual is left free to work out his own salvation. "That government is best which governs least" is not all of it; in those things which are governmental it must govern absolutely. The whole fabric of society needs to be placed under a rigid analysis to discover why the hope of democracy has in so large a measure eluded us.

THE answer will be discovered in the two reasons which we have indicated, that democracy has been overweighted, that institutions are unjust, and that government has been corrupted by privilege. In this country we have proceeded on the assumption that government is unlimited in scope, whereas it is strictly conditioned. Democracy cannot be yoked with privilege and still be free to function. The expectation is falacious.

THOUGH forms of government do not greatly matter, it is still true that political institutions borrow their status from the kind of economic freedom that prevails, their character as well as their duration and stability. That is what Henry George meant when he said that the condition of progress is "association in equality." Political equality is not possible without the economic background of association in equality.

DEMOCRACY therefore has a much wider application than is given to it in current discussion about forms of government. Until one man can look another in the face, until it is no longer necessary to beg the boon of work, to sue his fellow man for a job, will political democracy, or democracy of any kind, be possible. For this reason Single Taxers beat the air when they concern themselves with forms of government, city management, direct primaries, and sundry devices to the neglect of the only change that makes democracy attainable.

THE growth of fascism and communism alike is attributable to economic conditions. Fascism is the half-unconscious resistance of the House of Have to the claim of the disinherited. Communism is a different sort of resistance to the same condition of landless men. Fascism is instinctive. It could never find lodgment even in society of half free men. It is lower than monarchy because it springs from a deeper degree of slavery; it lacks the popular appeal of a monarchical form of government; it is far less responsive to real public wrongs. It tolerates nothing that is not to its own glory and substitutes for possible kindly sovereign a figure that grows more and more of a soulless abstraction representing the state. This statement may be enforced by an understanding of

the different way in which several European leaders are regarded. For example, King George is loved, Hitler and Mussolini are feared.

**B**UT to talk democracy to men who are economic slaves, who must beg the boon of work, or who must subsist upon charity, is a ghastly mockery. To ask of men deprived of power to control their own affairs that they participate in the business of government, is a joke, but a sardonic joke. From the substratum of social misery, which is the lot of the majority of men, we may with absolute certainty trace the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, the decay of liberalism in Great Britain and the decline of democracy in America.

## Two Presidents to Another

**S**AID Woodrow Wilson: "I do not want to live under a philanthropy. I do not want to be taken care of by the government, either directly or by any instruments through which the government is acting."

President Roosevelt will please note and remember the N.R.A. codes.

Again said President Wilson: "If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by government, why I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America."

Professor Tugwell and the socialistically inclined Roosevelt are invited to reflect upon this.

And again we quote the last Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson: "I do not want a smug lot of experts to sit down behind closed doors in Washington and play Providence to me. There is a Providence to which I am perfectly willing to submit. But as for other men setting up as Providence over myself I seriously object. I have never met a political savior in the flesh and I never expect to meet one."

Respectfully submitted for the consideration of the President and his experts!

From a President who also lies in his grave and has been longer time dead, come these momentous words, which President Roosevelt is also asked to note and perhaps take to heart: It is Abraham Lincoln who speaks:

"The land, the earth God gave to man for his home, sustenance and support, should never be the possession of any man, corporation, or unfriendly government, any more than air or water, if as much."

Lincoln saw the land question. He would have dealt with it in the big way. To him there was no such thing as property in land any more than in air or water.

He had no doubt of the principle he laid down. Of the method to be pursued he was not so certain. He said: "A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future." He knew the movement would meet with opposi-

tion and he knew the kind of opposition it would meet. Very forcibly he says:

"The idle talk of idle men that is so common now, will find its way against it, with whatever force it may possess, and strongly promoted and carried on as it can be by land monopolists, grasping landlords, and the titled and untitled senseless enemies of mankind everywhere."

Thus spoke the Prophet-President. Is Franklin Roosevelt capable of understanding?

## Save the School

**W**HEN two years ago Oscar H. Geiger started the Henry George School of Social Science it was with deep-seated faith that the support necessary for its maintenance would be forthcoming. This faith has been justified only in part. Such contributions as have been received have been only sufficient to carry on in a small way, and the work is seriously handicapped for funds.

We are not asking now for contributions from those able to give but five dollars or so, though these are welcome, and such responses have been generous indeed. We are appealing now to those wealthy Henry George men who are able to contribute substantial sums. Of these there must be quite a number. One or two in this fortunate class have responded. But not enough. Five thousand dollars a year are needed to do the things that ought to be done. This is the amount imperatively needed for the work.

We sometimes wonder if our friends to whom a large contribution would mean little have the vision to see the possibilities of this great experiment. Mr. Geiger has made a beginning, a small beginning, it is true, but large enough to furnish a demonstration. The enrolment of eighty students, a great number of them public and high school teachers, members of seven or eight classes, should thrill the imagination. Let us figure a Joseph Fels on the scene, and the School in receipt of \$50,000 a year! The Henry George University would be in sight and further liberal endowments would follow. What a future would be made possible—the great gospel of industrial emancipation inculcated in a great educational institution to which the youth of the country would flock!

This appeal to wealthy Single Taxers of vision—and we think there must be such—would not be complete without a word as to the Director. Of all those who have gone before, the great apostles of the movement whom we love to recall, Mr. Geiger does not rank as an orator like John S. Crosby, a crusader like Father McGlynn, a fiery enthusiast like Hugh O. Pentecost, but as a teacher he surpasses them all. Not at any time in the history of the movement has there appeared so richly qualified an instructor. With a tactfulness and art of appeal he draws these young people to him. Socialists and communists, so often impervious, answer to this appeal. Not only does he know from the fund of a deep-stored mind the things he wishes

to inculcate, but he is quick to anticipate the difficulties of his students. With painstaking care and gentle consideration he resolves their doubts. We believe many in the years to come will look back with grateful memories to this finely equipped teacher who guided them successfully through difficult paths and made them see the truth in the light of which so many perplexities disappear.

If the School is forced to suspend a great tragedy will have fallen upon the movement. It will not be known how grave a tragedy it is by those who, because they lacked the vision, failed to realize how great were its promises and possibilities.

## The Great Triumvirate

THE three men who are prominent in the administration recovery programme are interesting as providing studies of character. Tugwell, Johnson and Richberg are an interesting triumvirate. While Tugwell in much of his writing exhibits a Torricellian vacuity of thought he clothes it with a professorial garb of calm superiority. He writes with a superb disdain of his critics. He indicates that those who differ with him are animated by some secretly base motive, that they wish to retain some monopolistic privilege, and that if they venture to criticise the programme it is quite clear that they are influenced by motives more or less corrupt.

Johnson, a somewhat more engaging personality, is the raging tragedian of the heavy melodrama. He is almost ferocious. But we like him. No one has ever treated economic problems in just this spirit and his rage is almost demoniac. Yet it is impossible not to admire him. He puts up a good show. Napoleon said of a certain famous charge, "It is magnificent but it is not war." And we may say of General Johnson's great outbursts, "They are magnificent but they are not business or economics."

Richberg is different. He is a lawyer and will argue with you. It is true that he has a habit common to all three. He speaks of the "mudslinging of destructive criticism," and of those who look with "jaundiced eyes" upon the administration programme. But that is a common characteristic.

His economics show the same defects as his associates. He is also at fault in his history. He tells us in a recent article that "recovery has proceeded at a rate unprecedented in the up-turn after any previous depression." This is simply not so. The depression of 1857 was over in the Spring of 1858; the stagnation of 1843 was followed in 1846 by good times and the highest wages ever known; the years of 1867, 1868 and 1869 were periods of great depression, but in 1870 business improved considerably. Other periods of depression have been followed by recovery in a time much shorter than today's slight up-turn. That the N.R.A. is responsible for such recovery as we are experiencing, if we are, no well informed man will contend.

And if other countries have shown the same slight up-turn, with little Sweden ranking first, it cannot be due to the N.R.A.

Richberg differs from Tugwell when he speaks in the same article of "the administration codes of fair competition." Competition, according to Tugwell is never fair it is always destructive and always to be frowned upon.

But what is funny is Mr. Richberg's self-contradiction. He is indignant at "little stores, shops and restaurants which go bankrupt in less than five years and which bombard Congress with complaints that monopolies fostered by the codes are driving them to the wall." He does not deny this but says: "The N.R.A. codes may sometimes hasten the end of such small and uneconomic enterprises." But he says this is a "process which has been proceeding relentlessly for many years despite the anti-trust laws."

We are still a little puzzled. It seems the N.R.A. codes are performing a really useful purpose in doing away with "small and uneconomic enterprises." If this is accomplished, and it is thought desirable, as Mr. Richberg says it is, and is "proceeding relentlessly" without the codes, the job seems to be well in hand.

But who can be sure if these small enterprises are uneconomic? Maybe some of the larger enterprises are also uneconomic. And we would point out that where ninety per cent of industrial enterprises fail it is due not to unregulated competition, nor to the absence of codes, but to the same set of economic conditions in which the majority of enterprises, large and small, come to grief.

But the following is of interest where Mr. Richberg says: "It is profoundly in the interest of large enterprises to preserve the economic health of small competitors—in order that all may enjoy the benefit of legalized cooperation in promoting their industry as a whole \* \* \*"

The unconscious appeal here is to the law of competition and that other law which is made possible by it—the law of cooperation. Of course, Richberg does not recognize it, Tugwell cannot, and Johnson—well, Johnson doesn't care. But it is a natural law of business and economics.

This is the answer to all planning. There are such things as natural laws of production and distribution. If you interfere with them you do so at your peril. The great industrial structural edifice, the delicate laws of distribution, the law of supply and demand which is nothing less than the exchange of supply for supply, shrinks and withers at the touch of government. What millions of hands have laboriously erected the hand of a single blundering legislator can undo. Nature has its way of punishing infractions of the economic law, and any interference with it is free play. The authors of the N.R.A. will learn this at their cost.

NAMES of those friendly to our movement will receive sample copy of LAND AND FREEDOM and circular announcing special premium offer by addressing this office.

## Single Tax Pellets

IN the consideration of any subject, the main desideratum is the truth. There is in mythology a tale in which an angel passing through space carried in his hand a glass ball. He dropped this glass ball and it fell upon the earth, breaking into a great many pieces. That glass ball was truth. Some of us have found some of the pieces; some of us have apprehended parts of truth. We know that these fragments are truth because they correlate; just as the pieces of a broken ball of glass would fit each into the other. All truth correlates. God is truth. The great Blackstone says in the second chapter of his first book: "When the Supreme Being formed the universe, and created matter, he impressed certain principles upon that matter, from which it never can depart, and without which it would cease to be. . . . If we further advance, from mere inactive matter to vegetable and animal life, we shall find them still governed by laws, more numerous indeed, but equally fixed and invariable. The whole progress of plants, from the seed to the root, and from thence to the seed again; the method of animal nutrition, digestion, secretion, and all other branches of vital economy, are not left to chance, or the will of the creature itself, but are performed in a wondrous involuntary manner, and guided by unerring rules laid down by the great Creator. . . . This law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God Himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

In the constitution of nature, ordained by God Himself, is a beautiful regime of truth: in electricity, in mathematics, in chemistry, in political economy and all the sciences. And just as we learn this order of truth, and make our affairs to accord with it, we progress peacefully. As an example I may say that there could have been a great development of radio communication in Adam's time as we now have, had the knowledge of natural physical law, of manufacture and adjustment of parts existed then as now exists. Let us apply this concept to the problems that now confront us, and see where we are led.

Some time ago, I read in a newspaper about a ship on the Atlantic ocean. An accident to its watertank had deprived the crew of drinking water. They put out a distress signal and a passing vessel hailing them asked them what was the trouble. Upon being told of the shortage of drinking water, the passing vessel replied "Dip and drink." It seems that they were at the mouth of the Amazon river which throws its fresh waters hundreds of miles into the ocean, and it was necessary only to "dip and drink."

So it is in these United States. Our natural resources

are so very abundant—God has provided so wonderfully for our needs, in the mines, the soil and the forests, that all that is necessary is the touch of the magic wand of labor to make it into clothes, into automobiles, into everything that will satisfy human wants. This country is flowing with milk and honey. All that it would seem necessary to do is dip and drink.

I know a man who, as it were, dipped up some of this honey. He built a beautiful forty story building; the latest thing in architecture, with all the amenities that contribute to comfort and elegance. This building is now in the hands of a receiver and his money has been taken from him. As he told it to me, he has been "cleaned to his last dollar." If he had been "wise" he would have kept the old shack that encumbered the site, and would have waited until other people built around it. Had he done that, he would be "sitting pretty" now, besides which he would have his money. He is a typical example.

When a man erects a building, employs a lot of idle men, thereby making business good, beautifies the neighborhood, and "makes the world go round," we fine him for doing so, that is, we tax him. If he mistreated his wife we might fine him once, but if he erects a building, and thereby employs idle men, we fine him every year with perfect regularity. But if he holds a lot vacant, raising weeds, cultivating mosquitoes, and holding labor idle, because other people build around his lot and make it more valuable, he can sell it for an increased price; thereby getting money that he has not earned, reaping what he did not sow. And we must remember that if men get wealth without earning it, others must earn it without getting it.

What I have said shows by means of our present arrangements we fine the man who employs labor and reward the man who keeps men idle. We fine the man who makes business good and reward the man who makes business bad. We fine the man who beautifies our city and reward the man who messes up our city with tin cans, dead rats and old rags, weeds and mosquitoes. To expect to have continuous employment and good business by means of such foolishness would be the same as to expect to reap wheat where thistles have been sown.

We Single Taxers propose to reverse this arrangement, to fine the man who keeps labor idle and to reward the man who employs labor. We would fine the man who makes business bad and reward the man who makes business good. We would fine the man who messes up our city and reward the man who beautifies it. We propose to raise all public revenue on the value of land only, by a tax in proportion to its value whether it be improved or not. This would force all valuable land into its best use, creating such vast opportunities for employment that there would not be an idle man who wanted to work in the country. Business would hum continually and a

paradise of joy would obtain, instead of such a vale of tears as it now is to most folks. I am reminded of the Scripture where it says, "eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the hearts of men to know what God hath prepared for them that love Him and keep his commandments."

Looking at this subject from another angle, I often speak of the folly of old Father Dearborn. To you who do not read the cartoons in the Chicago newspapers, I must explain that Father Dearborn is the City of Chicago. That old fool Father Dearborn allows a few of his people to rob him blindly, so that frequently he has not enough money left to buy an Irish stew. And then, to recoup himself he robs us. If you build a house, he will rob you of that. If you buy nice furniture to embellish your home and make your family comfortable, and incidentally employ a number of furniture makers, he will rob you of that. Now all that the Single Taxer wants of Father Dearborn is that he shall keep his fingers out of our pockets and keep the other fellow's fingers out of his pockets. Let Father Dearborn confine himself for his revenue to his own wages, his earnings—land values.

When I am talking to the reformers who have a passion for improving mankind I sometimes tell them a tale like this. A tidal wave inundated Miami. A number of fish were stranded in a shallow pool on the beach. The sunshine soon gave the pool a temperature warmer than that to which the fish were accustomed. They scratched each other, killed each other and did not have much to eat. Many of them were dying from lack of food. A certain fermentation was going on at the edges of the pool and some of the fish were getting drunk committing murder. They were in a bad way. There was a little, not much, but a little intelligence among the fish. One school of fish said, "The trouble with us fish is that we don't love the Lord, our troubles would be over if we would only come to Jesus." Those were the religious fish. Another school said, "The trouble is all due to the fact that we drink too much. We must have prohibition before the trouble will be righted." They were the Prohibition fish. Still another school said, "The trouble with us is that we are not properly organized." They believed that if they had a lot of committees and management everything would be lovely. Those were the socialist fish. But among them let us suppose there were one or two sensible fish. Can we not imagine them explaining, perhaps vainly, that, "The trouble with us fish is that we have been separated from our natural element, the great ocean." Those would correspond to the Single Taxers. They said, "If we can only get back to the good old Atlantic Ocean where we could be free, would have plenty to eat and our natural environment, we would not have all of this trouble. And like as the fish are water animals, so men are land animals, and the moral is that to the extent that their access to their natural environment has been interfered with, men are in trouble.

Another analogy: Here is a field of thousands of acres of growing grass and clover. It grows up abundantly every year, fading in the fall. One corner of this field is fenced off, and in this corner are a number of cattle trying to graze and not finding enough food to sustain themselves. Many of them are dying from lack of food. I arrived on the scene in my car and discover a man working himself into a sweat pulling and throwing tufts of grass over the fence to the cattle. The cattle rush for the grass. The horned cattle gore the others, and in the mad scramble much of the grass gets wasted. I say to this man, "Why don't you open the gate so that the cattle can get out and help themselves, the clover is wasted anyway." Now what can I say to this man when he replies, "Aw, quit your Single Tax theorizing and get down here and help me pull grass."

A man with his dog Towser having been lost in a desert after wandering about several days and growing weak thought that before long he must lie down and die. He thought of his dog and decided that it was time to eat. Talking the matter over with the dog, Towser objected to being killed. Some other way must be found. So a compromise was reached. Towser permitted his tail to be cut off. The man found means to make a fire, cooked the tail, and having eaten the flesh, threw the bones to the dog, saying: "Towser, there is charity."

For nearly 2,000 years, all over Christendom, we have been saying the Lord's Prayer. Regularly and without understanding, we have recited the words, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in the earth." And now it seems to me that we have the kingdom of the devil on this earth. If I were asked to write a specification for a hell, I would copy our present scheme in toto. Poverty, destitution and crime stalk through the land. We educate our children, fill them with ambition and deprive them of the opportunity to satisfy their ambition. So it appears that perhaps we have not been praying in the right way. No doubt that our prayer reaches beyond the ceiling. We know that the way to pray for potatoes is to get out in the field and plant the proper seed. You may pray after the fashion of the Methodists, the Catholics, or any of our religious groups and expect that the potatoes will come down through the roof or some other peculiar way, but they will not. The only way to get anything is to do the natural thing necessary to get that which you pray for. The way to pray for the establishment of the kingdom of God on this earth is to learn the natural laws of political economy, to obey them and then the kingdom of God will ensue without further effort.

Jesus was speaking to a hungry crowd on one occasion about high and lofty things that they did not understand. And they said: "Aw, cut it out and give us something to eat." Jesus replied, "Think not of what ye shall eat, or what ye shall wear, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed. Your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. See the lily of the field, how it toils not, neither

does it spin, yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." The necessities and comforts of life would come as natural consequences, when you have a kingdom of God on the earth. So, translating that bit of Scripture into the language of Chicago, seeking "the kingdom of God and His righteousness," righteousness would mean the right method of taxation, right governmental arrangements, equal freedom of opportunity. The lily had its roots in the soil, was exposed to the sunshine and enjoying its natural habitat. So, I say, that if men had their roots in the soil, if they had equal rights to God's bounty, they too would blossom into all that men might hope to be, and Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like the possibilities for the ordinary working man.

I often am asked "If the Single Tax is as good a proposition as you say it is, why don't the people of culture and education take it up and help to get it adopted?" My reply is to quote a parable. A traveler on his way to Damascus was held up, robbed, and left half dead at the side of the road. A lawyer came along and seeing him, pitied him, but passed on the other side. A priest passed that way and seeing him said, "Poor fellow," but he was too busy to help. But along came a stranger, a man who was despised by the lawyer and the priest as a contemptible foreigner. This fellow stopped, treated the man's wounds, bound them, and took him to an inn and provided for his welfare. So in our society, the workingman has been robbed and is bewildered at the condition he is in. The lawyers and the clergymen express their regret but feel that it is not their problem. They are the product of education and culture fostered by the circumstances of a social arrangement that results in the condition of the workingman. We cannot expect that any folks, except those who are not too deformed by the surrounding culture and schooling, will interest themselves in this matter.

And well meaning folks frequently display an appalling ignorance of economic matters. Some who should know better advocate the protective tariff, as a means of promoting the workingman's interest. To these, I say: "I spent four years in college studying electrical engineering. We got the unanimous opinion of the masters in the science of electricity. In the laboratory we tested all of these opinions by the use of various instruments, and the results of our experiments checked with what we had learned in the classroom. Applying that method to the subject we were discussing—the tariff—let us see what the authorities say on this subject. All of the authorities are free traders, John Stuart Mill, Laughlin, Ely, Fischer, Seligman, Carver and in fact all the political economists. So much for the authorities, now let me submit the tariff to a laboratory test. This may seem difficult but as you shall see, it is not.

Taking first the highest tariff countries of the world and moving by degrees to the freest trade countries, let us observe what are the conditions in each, and we will then to all intents and purposes have gone through a laboratory experiment. The highest tariff country in the world, before the war, was China. They had such a high tariff that it was called the Chinese wall. Not only did they have tariffs around the country to keep goods from coming in, but they also had tariffs between the provinces. A farmer could not take a pig or a bushel of wheat into town without paying a tariff. They were tarified coming and tarified going. Yet China was a most miserable place in which to live. The next highest tariff country was Turkey. They had so much tariff that they had very little foreign trade. The next most highly protected area was the Balkan States, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and then Italy, then Austria. Following in order came France, Spain, Germany, Russia and Great Britain, and then the United States. The United States is the freest country in the world. I will admit that we have a high tariff against importation into this country from abroad, but in the United States we have the largest absolute free trade area in the world. We have forty-eight nations with free trade between them, and it is the best country in the world, though it could, of course, be a great deal better. Now, I have shown that all of the authorities are free traders, and the laboratory experiment shows that the highest tariff country is the poorest for the ordinary man to live in and that the lowest tariff country is the best to live in.

And it should be so. Some countries are suited for the production of certain things and other countries are suited for the production of other things. It pays the people of a country to produce the things for which it is suited and to trade its surplus products with the people of other countries suited for the production of the things they want. As examples, take N. Dakota which is adapted to the production of wheat and Pennsylvania which is adapted to the production of coal. The people of Pennsylvania cannot eat their coal and the Dakotans cannot burn their wheat advantageously, so they each raise a surplus and then they trade; and it blesses him that gives and him that takes. There is no difference in principle in trade between Pennsylvania and N. Dakota, and trade between the United States and Great Britain, nor between Italy and Germany.

Birds and business ignore boundary lines between nations unless they are interfered with, so if we would remove all our fool tariffs and allow goods to move from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are scarce and dear, in each case to pay for the goods received; if the various localities of the world would swap their advantages, it would multiply the wealth of the world many times.

I once heard a ridiculous story that illustrates the principle. A pineapple orchard was planted in Greenland,

under a glass roof, and a high tariff instituted to protect the home industry from the cheap pineapples from the south. Also there was an ice plant set up in Bermuda with a high protective tariff to protect the industry from the cheap ice of the north. Some one observed, "Why don't you get your pineapples where God intended them to grow. This hot house stuff is mush and not fit to eat. Why don't you remove that fool tariff and so allow us to make something here to exchange for southern pineapples." Immediately a lot of politicians and pseudo-philosophers held up their hands in holy horror and said, "But see all of the steam fitters, carpenters, glaziers and caretakers that would be out of their jobs if you had free trade in pineapples." I assert that every industry in this country or any other country that needs the support of a tariff is a species of "pineapple orchard in Greenland or an ice plant in Bermuda." That is to say, it is an exotic industry and should be kicked out. We should devote our energies to those industries that are indigenous to the country. Engineers have built bridges, tunneled mountains, constructed steamships, railroads, automobiles, aeroplanes, telegraph, telephone and radio systems, all to facilitate trade—to bring things from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are needed, and when their work is in good running order, along come a lot of politicians, ignorant statesmen, putting up tariff barriers nullifying, to a large extent, the fine work of our engineers. It often costs more to get goods through a custom house than it does to ship them around the world. So I want to speak out so all may hear, that I am a free trader. I take my stand along with Richard Cobden, John Bright, Robert Peel and Henry George. 'Tis true I am but a humble member of this illustrious company, but I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free traders than to dwell in the tents of wicked protectionists.—GEORGE M. STRACHAN.

## Is This What's the Matter With Him?

**B**EHIND his smile, his quick wit, his winning friendliness are two factors never to be overlooked in his evaluation. First Roosevelt is a Dutch gentleman, reared in the manner and environment of landed aristocracy.—From the *Men Around the President*, in January *Harpers*.

**"H**AVE you any thing better to offer" asks General Johnson of critics of the N.R.A. The question is not original with the General. It was once asked by a notorious quack of a competent physician who criticized his fake "cure for cancer."

"**T**RIAL and error" as a national policy means severe trials for the people and egregious errors by the government.

## Schalkenbach Foundation Work

**I**F a visitor came to the Foundation office, he might be surprised at the variety and interesting content of the work that comes across the desk. There would be orders for books, (mostly of "Progress and Poverty") from such dealers as Marshall Field, Chicago; John Wanamaker, Philadelphia; University Book Store of Southern California; Clark's Old Book Store, Spokane, Wash.; Womraths, Brentanos, and the American News Company, of New York—to mention a few of the 400 dealers from whom we receive orders for Henry George books. New contacts were made by two recent letters to bookdealers in which part of the jacket of "Progress and Poverty" was enclosed, so that it could be seen that this book was produced in modern, interesting style.

Then our visitor would find that in answer to a letter sent to a special list of Single Taxers who were known to be working actively on tax questions, there would be orders asking for Professor Brown's new book, "The Economic Basis of Tax Reform," which undertakes to answer some of the stock objections to Henry George's proposals and to supply arguments for the more knotty problems raised by opponents.

He would find in the course of preparation a letter to professors and high school teachers which would be sent to a list of about 2,000 names, and, if he came to the office a month later, he would find orders for books, and letters discussing the Georgist viewpoint from professors in such widely separated schools as the following: University of Georgia; Nebraska Wesleyan; Alabama Polytechnic Institute; Camden Commercial College, N. J.; Columbia University; Swarthmore, Penna.; Sioux Falls College; Northfield Schools, Mass.; Kenyon College, O.; Princeton University; University of New Hampshire; Clemson College; San Diego City Schools; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College; University of Montana; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Drew University.

With the aid of Patterson's Educational Directory, the Foundation now has a list of educational officers and teachers in every State in the Union. The first effort was to circularize teachers and school superintendents in the State of New Jersey. That such circularization is effective is proven by the many new contacts that are made with teachers on these lists. This kind of work requires a large fund. We do not have enough money this year to do each State in the Union. If anyone feels that he would like to have his particular State circularized in this way, and would care to contribute toward it, we would see to it that effective material reached these teaching groups.

Our visitor would find that proof for the Index and front pages of "Social Problems," and also proof for the jacket, were being corrected, and that the book is scheduled for publication on or about April 5. Plans are being made to advertise "Social Problems," and to acquaint book

dealers with the fact that this new edition is ready. Review copies will be sent to a select list of newspapers and magazines with a letter pointing out that the book reads as if written for today's newspapers, in its treatment of the problems of government, over-production, etc.

It would be found that an average of thirty news clippings per week are placed in the scrap-book, and that note is made whenever anything of importance appears. Editorials and book reviews mention Henry George frequently, because certain of the new books, such as "The Robber Barons," contain comments on or quotations from Henry George.

An examination of the advertising programme would reveal that the small advertisement carried in the *Nation* has yielded 38 inquiries in the past two months. Each inquiry is answered personally, and appropriate literature explaining Henry George's writings is sent. Miscellaneous inquiries are received, and inquiries from the advertisements placed in *The American Hebrew*, so that a summary shows 91 people receiving literature by their own request.

A new advertisement headed "The Henry George Bookshelf" has been contracted for with Mr. Beckwith, editor of *The Forum*. A series of small advertisements has been prepared for weekly insertion over a period of three or four weeks in the *New York Times*, and it is believed that the continuity of these advertisements will stimulate interest.

Publicity equal to an advertisement was procured by writing to some 100 editors, explaining the aims of the Foundation, its publication achievements, etc., and the letter appeared in *The Churchman*, *Unity*, etc. Publicity was also prepared at the request of the Russell Sage Foundation for a place in its publication "American Foundations," soon to be issued.

Not long ago Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler spoke before the Pilgrim Society and quoted from the Fourth of July oration by Henry George (1877). He said that although George's words go back over half a century they are prophetic in their insight and prophetic in their appeal. The Foundation immediately reprinted the news item reporting Dr. Butler's speech, and enclosed it with the special letters that it was sending out at the time to professors, bookdealers, etc.

On Feb. 29, Dr. John Haynes Holmes addressed the Community Church audience at Town Hall, New York. He read the concluding paragraphs of "Progress and Poverty" to his congregation, and then, in one of the most stirring addresses the writer has heard, spoke of the basic iniquity of private property in land. Dr. Holmes devoted the first half of his speech to Henry George, but then went on to other reforms. The next Sunday the undersigned brought copies of "Progress and Poverty" to be placed on the literature counters, and free copies of pamphlets were placed on a table in the Town Hall.

Finally, if our supposed visitor is still with us, examining all of the office activities, he would come upon letters

from Mr. Ellert of Milk River, ordering a huge supply of books and pamphlets for his work in Alberta; letters from Jackson Ralston telling about the California campaign; from Dr. Copeland telling about his Mississippi campaign; orders from Mr. F. C. Maguire of Pittsburgh, who is placing 250 "What Is the Single Tax?" in libraries and bookstores; a request to us to choose an assortment up to \$16 for a Southern college where the president is interested in getting his community group to study Henry George; letter from our Canadian friends in Toronto who, upon our donation of "Significant Paragraphs" will see to it that certain important professors in the Canadian colleges receive the book with special letter; a letter from a judge in Chambers Street, New York, ordering all of the books available on our booklist for presentation to a library; and finally, letter from the Oglethorpe University Librarian stating that "The Philosophy of Henry George" by Dr. Geiger, arrived during a period when thirty students were making reports on Henry George for a class in economics, and that they were delighted to find a single volume giving complete information.

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN,  
Executive Secretary.

## The Alternative Programme

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in his speech before the NRA conference, has said:

" . . . the critic is patriotic, whether he be a business man, a worker, a farmer or a politician, if he says, I don't like the methods you are using to solve the problem; I believe it would be far better to use the following alternate method, and outlines for the benefit of his neighbor and his government a helpful programme."

I accept the president's invitation to offer an alternative method. In bare outline, here is the programme:

- 1: Abolish private ownership of land and natural resources.
- 2: Abolish all taxation.
- 3: Abolish all tariffs.
- 4: Have the government obtain all its revenue by collecting the economic rent of the land.
- 5: Abolish all governmental regulation of, and interference with, commerce and industry.

This programme would result in a condition of free competition between individuals armed with equal rights—of complete equality of economic opportunity without any abridgement of personal liberty. It would ensure to every citizen full use and enjoyment of the product of his own handiwork or intellectual activity.

This programme would, I submit, have these advantages over the president's programme: It would obviate the inquisitorial taxation methods now in use: it would avoid the necessity for a social planning so vast and intricate that neither the individual nor the collective intelligence is equal to it; it would escape the evolution of a top-heavy, bureaucratic class whose first instinct would be to dig itself in at the expense of all the rest of us.—KARL B. MICKEY, in *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

WE like to remember the story of the old woman who seeing the sea for the first time explained her delight in witnessing something at last of which there was enough for everybody.

## A Confused Economist

CHARLES HECHT, former Councilman of Lakewood, N. J., a pioneer Single Taxer, who was in the Henry George campaign for mayor of the City of New York in 1886, sent the following question to the *American Freeman*, edited by E. Haldeman-Julius of Gerard, Kan.

QUESTION: Would you consider the Single Tax, as advocated by Henry George, if generally adopted, a fundamental remedy for the existing economic conditions?

ANSWER: "Henry George has never impressed me as an important economist. He made a great splash, but only among immature and superficial students of economic phenomena. His "Progress and Poverty," written in 1879, is a solemnly pretentious work, motivated by a sincere desire to help mankind, but nevertheless an incomplete description of the social evils facing us and a thoroughly inadequate solution.

"Henry George was not an original, creative thinker. The basic ideas described under the general theory of the Single Tax originated with the French economists of the 18th Century, known as Physiocrats. Quesnay, the chief theoretician of the Physiocrats, based his economic philosophy on the then sound premise that the major part of man's wealth came from the soil. George, writing a century later, had already seen vast advancements in the industrial and financial processes, which he blandly ignored and then proposed an exclusive tax on rentals. There was to be no other levy.

"Such a theory might be made to fit into an exclusively agricultural economy, but imagine the absurdity of such a programme in a day of large-scale industry, machinery, billion-dollar banks, capitalists and all the other manifestations of a capitalistic society, in which the bulk of wealth no longer comes from the land but from industry.

"Henry George, as late as 1891, defended capital and interest, and merely insisted on taking 'for the community the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community.' Not only was private capitalism to be untouched by the state, but it was to be completely free of assessment by the tax collector. This would mean that J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, each being expressions of financial and industrial capitalism, were not to be taxed, either on their business, their incomes, or their estates at their death. Single Tax is as dead as the dodo. It is now merely the peculiar notions of a group of senile eccentrics."

If Henry George did not impress Mr. Haldeman-Julius as an "important economist" it is because E. Haldeman-Julius is evidently a superficial thinker. Thousands upon thousands of intellectual people including the world's most imminent economists consider "Progress and Poverty" as the greatest book on social and political economy ever written.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius like a good many more of his ilk who pretend to understand social and economic questions pose as teachers to the unwise and misinformed and fail to grasp the fundamental remedy themselves and unjustly criticise Mr. George because of their lack of knowledge on the subject. Mr. Haldeman-Julius says that Henry George "made a great splash among immature and superficial students." Among the many men who agreed with Henry George on economics, who, according to Mr. Haldeman-Julius are "superficial students of economic phenomena," are the late Prof. Felix Adler of the Ethical Culture Society, who entered the campaign

of 1886 in behalf of Mr. George, Samuel Gompers, late President of the American Federation of Labor, who escorted Mr. George to many factories during the campaign where Mr. George addressed the employees, Lloyd George Ramsay McDonald, Theodore Roosevelt, President Woodrow Wilson, Newton D. Baker, Franklin Lane, and William B. Wilson, members of the Wilson cabinet; Prof. John Dewey, the late Lucius F. Garvin, Governor of Rhode Island; Tom L. Johnson, U. S. Senator Woodbridge, H. Ferris, Edwin Markham, Mark Twain, Prof. Irving Fisher, Bishop Huntington, Judge Samuel Seabury, and thousands of other intellectual men and women throughout the world.

"Progress and Poverty" has been translated into thirteen languages, including Chinese, and over 6,000,000 copies have been sold. Does this jibe with the statement that Single Taxers is as "dead as the dodo?" Furthermore, the Single Tax has been adopted in part in Pittsburgh, Pa., where at the last election a Single Tax mayor was elected; in Fairhope, Ala., in Edmonton, Can., in Australia and in various parts of the world.

This proves that people over the entire world are taking a practical and lively interest in the philosophy of Henry George.

In the City of New York, recently, the Board of Education conducted an essay contest in the thirty-seven high schools of the city and more than 1,500 essays were written by students on the philosophy of Henry George. At the commencement exercises followers of Henry George, who awarded prizes to the successful students, addressed audiences of over 30,000 people on Henry George.

In each of the libraries of the high schools there is a set of books by Henry George available to students, and they are constantly consulted.

About two years ago the name of Henry George was presented by the Committee of the Hall of Fame of the New York University—for the purpose of having his statue placed among the other immortals; only a few votes were lacking for his election, but, it is almost certain that at the next election enough votes will be cast favoring the placing of his statue in the Hall of Fame. Does this seem as if the "Single Tax is as dead as a dodo" and that it is "now merely the peculiar notions of a group of senile eccentrics?"

Haldeman-Julius said "That Henry George's work is an incomplete description of the social evil facing us and is a thoroughly inadequate solution of social evils. This statement is not borne out by the facts. He pointed out in "Progress and Poverty," the causes and cures of industrial depressions and answered in advance, in that book, the criticisms that may be made of his theories, and during his life, he exploded many of the so-called objections that were made to his philosophy, and his followers have done the same since his death. If Mr. Haldeman-Julius will carefully read "Progress and Poverty" he will find that Henry George was not only a great economist

out a prophet as well. The social and economic conditions of today are, as he predicted they would be, if private ownership of land was not abolished. He proved that in spite of an increase in the production of wealth, wages tended to a minimum and that the inequitable distribution of wealth made the comparative few enormously wealthy and the great masses correspondingly poor. This he proved was because of the private ownership of land.

Henry George did not claim, as Mr. Haldeman-Julius says, that he was original in discovering that ground rent should be taxed into the public treasury, to defray public expenses; he gave credit on many occasions to the French Physiocrats, notable among them being Quesnay, but, what he claims and justly so, was that he was original in advocating the Single Tax on land values to pay the public expense and that all other taxes should be abolished. By this method of taxation there would be created a just distribution of wealth and all men who worked would receive a just return for their labor.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius like many loose thinkers, on the social and economic questions, gets confused when he says "the bulk of wealth no longer comes from the land." All wealth is produced by labor applied to land. This agrees with such noted economists as Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, et al. He showed that instead of wages being drawn from capital as some economists contend, capital is drawn from wages. Haldeman-Julius like all socialists confuses the terms "capital" with "monopoly" and would abolish the so-called capitalistic system, whereas if land monopoly were abolished special privilege, which is based on land monopoly, would cease and all the evils of our so-called capitalistic system would disappear.

Mr. George states that wages are not drawn from capital but that true capital is drawn from wages. He says, "If for instance—I devote my labor to gathering bird's eggs, picking wild berries, the eggs or berries I thus get are my wages; surely no one will contend that in such a case wages are drawn from capital. There is no capital in the case, an absolutely naked man thrown on an island where no human being before has trod may gather birds eggs or pick berries."

Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller and other millionaires are not "expressions of private capitalism," as Mr. Haldeman-Julius states, but the expressions of land monopoly.

Haldeman-Julius says the "Single Tax is now merely the peculiar potion of a group of senile eccentrics." I would like to know what the Single Taxers and other intelligent economists think of this balderdash of Mr. Haldeman-Julius and his group of would-be economists.

EDWARD POLAK.

## Work of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

CLUB activities in the past two months have been unusually interesting. President Charles H. Ingersoll's public meetings were as follows:

Y. M. and Y. W. H. A., Paterson, Feb. 4. This invitation came direct as repetition of one of last year which could not be accepted. Geiger and others have talked to this audience, which is very fine in general character and responsiveness. About 250 present including a great many of general public. An original talk of 45 minutes and answered questions for two hours. This is an example of a town that must be pretty well informed about Single Tax through this organization. Quiz especially intelligent and interesting. Chairman, Harry S. Albert.

Taxpayers Protective League of Newark, Feb. 6. This invitation came through Mr. Lane from Charles Becker, attorney, 114 Market Street, leader of the association. Meeting started at 9 o'clock with various speakers who continued till after 10. Mr. Ingersoll was enthusiastically introduced and received by 250 people who are looking to city management as the way out. An original talk with complete interest and much applause. They are going to give Mr. Ingersoll a whole evening and perhaps with Mayor LaGuardia in Krueger Auditorium. No quiz.

William Sloane House (Y.M.C.A.) N. Y., Feb. 27. Invitation came through Mr. Ewing, Secretary. Dinner in Mr. Ingersoll's honor. Original talk lasting 30 minutes; 60 present. Excellent quiz lasting 30 minutes. Visited a class in another room of about 40 men conducted by Board of Education, dominated by Socialist element which yielded to pressure of questions. Men very anxious to know more and gave Mr. Ingersoll the idea of classes before such organizations, which he is following.

Advertising Club of Newark, March 5. Fifty present; nice crowd; prominent men like Eugene Farrell of the *Newark Evening News*, who introduced Mr. Ingersoll. Mr. Chambless, of Fidelity Union, and Nat. Freiman. Talked for a half hour and tried to get them to questions but chairman kept interrupting for adjournment so there was not more than 15 minutes. Expected a larger crowd but quality replaced numbers.

Allenhurst Citizens and Taxpayers Association, March 13. A very interesting meeting led by Mr. Walter Reid, prominent real estate man who is trying to make his townspeople "tax conscious." Forty present, who were intelligent on taxation and very much interested in Mr. Ingersoll's 35-minute talk on their particular problems, followed by a quiz of an hour and a half. Mr. George White of Long Branch was there with friends. The association is planning another meeting for Mr. Ingersoll to extend information on our philosophy.

Mr. Ingersoll's broadcasting has been building up from

LIBERTY is fortunately not an individual. Otherwise the courts would be clogged with libel suits against the misinformed but loudmouthed patriots who insist on calling the United States a "land of liberty."

zero, after his recovery from his broken ankle. His schedule now stands as here shown, totalling 18 talks weekly—a new record.

His talks are now mainly on Current Events, his series, "Answering Father Coughlin," having terminated for the present due to lack of any new material to respond to. Mr. Ingersoll's C. E. talks are rated very highly by competent judges, one of whom writes this: "Permit me to express my appreciation of your all too short broadcasts over WBNX. They are timely. They are interesting. And—they have none of the synthetic enthusiasm exhibited by all other news commentators whenever the brain trusters announce a complete reversal of their policies, which regularly happens on the 15th and last day of each month,"

Mr. Ingersoll's present broadcast schedule: WBNX (1350 k.c.) every morning at 11:30 except Saturday and Sunday; WCNW, (1400 k.c.) Monday, 3:15 p. m., Tuesday, 3:45 p. m., Wednesday, 3:15 p. m., Thursday, 4:00 p. m.; WVFW, (1400 k.c.) Friday, 9:00 a. m.; WLTH, (1400 k.c.) Thursday, 9:00 a. m.; WBBC, (1400 k.c.) Wednesday, 3:30 p. m.; WHOM, (1450 k.c.) Monday, 9:45 p. m., Thursday, 8:15 p. m., Friday, 1:30 p. m.; WDAS, (1370 k.c.) Friday, 5:15 p. m., Saturday, 10:15 a. m., and 9:45 p. m.

The outstanding event this month was the interview with the "Voice of Experience" over the Columbia Broadcasting System, a network of 56 stations, with a potential audience of about 80 million, on February 15. Those of you who listened in know that the message was short but effective.

The Voice of Experience: "Mr. Ingersoll, now that you are retired from active business I think my audience would be interested in knowing just what your hobby is."

Mr. Ingersoll: "Well, I think that it is telling folks in simple terms the cause and the cure for the business depression, the unemployment and the poverty of the last five years. This world is staggering under an economic system that takes half of the earnings of capital and the earnings of labor and gives them to not over three per cent of the people who toil not neither do they spin, a drain of fifty per cent that impoverishes business and industry and even our government, and the mass of our workers and farmers. And this drain periodically culminates in panics and depressions, just as derangements of the human body cause mortal sickness and death.

"This movement with which I am affiliated, the National Tax Relief Association, is also called the taxation of land values or sometimes the Single Tax, and it is based on the philosophy of that great American economist, Henry George, who wrote a famous book 53 years ago called "Progress and Poverty." Since making the acquaintance of Henry George in his campaign in 1886 for the Mayor of New York City, I have continuously studied this question and I really believe there is no other solution."

We were much enthused by this broadcast and expect to further it by having Mr. Ingersoll interview other prominent people. Mr. Thomas T. Lane, Mr. Ingersoll's part time assistant in radio and lecture work, is arranging with such notables as Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Warden Lawes, Bernarr Macfadden, Lowell Thomas and Rud Vallee. Mr. Ingersoll will interview or debate with Mrs. Sanger on three subjects: Birth Control; Sterilization and Collectivism vs. Individualism; dates to be confirmed and station arrangements made; expecting to secure the larger stations, possibly chains.

Mr. Ingersoll's book "Who Will Save Democracy," is being revised and arranged for continuity and publication and since it is his first attempt at book writing this is very essential.

Organized letter writing to papers is proceeding. One letter sent to about 400 newspapers was printed in 100 of them which shows that the letter-a-week idea if followed faithfully would work wonders. Due to the carbon matching process we have evolved we can send personally addressed, identical letters to a large number of geographically widely separated papers. We need cooperation in this and if friends will send us the names of favorable papers we can get this plan working so that every day there would be many of our letters printed.

Our Activities Committee, (our brain trust) which meet every Wednesday at 4 o'clock consists of George Lloyd, Stephen Bell, Whidden Graham and Philip Stanley.

Mr. Ingersoll has been invited by Mayor McNair to spend a week in Pittsburgh and he will go within the next month. Mayor McNair, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Maguire are arranging dates for him and we hope there will be more than a dozen public meetings and an equal number of broadcasts.

Mr. Charles A. Lingham, of Lockport, N. Y. has arranged for Mr. Ingersoll to go there for three days, at which time he will address the Rochester Rotary Club, the Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Club and Buffalo Rotary Club. These will be June 26, 27 and 28 respectively. The Rochester Rotary Club is especially important because they are arranging to broadcast Mr. Ingersoll's talk over station WHAM, one of the twelve best in the country.

Mr. Lingham is arranging generous fees for these talks and we are corresponding with all organizations for addresses by Mr. Ingersoll on his 1934 trip and expect to extend the engagements to three or four a day, in accordance with his policy of "mass production." Cooperation of all friends west of Utica is desired.

Our subsidiary National Tax Relief Association's acting secretary, Mr. Gladwin Bouton, has sent letters to the highest paid business executives to get funds and enlighten the business men. We have aroused much interest among them and they need only to be followed up to get their cooperation. We are now mailing 1,000 more letters personally signed by the president together with a str.

ballot for those who are against the proposed interstate tariff.

Mr. Ingersoll is filing a petition for the Independent Nomination for Governor of New Jersey for the fall election and is formulating a platform of economic democracy which will be taxation of franchises, natural resources and land values.

Mr. Ingersoll is to address the Economic Forum of the Sloane House led by Mr. Richards, March 21, and also the Dinner Meeting of Mr. Ewing again at an early date, his first talk being on his watches and this one to be on his "hobby," the Single Tax.

Mr. Ingersoll has planned a course of thirteen popular lectures, especially for Y. M. C. A's. Mens Clubs and Forums in which he will connect our philosophy with the current political and economic muddle; this course he is now offering after each 30-minute talk, in answering questions; we ask help in introducing the course. Following are the titles.

1. Shall Our Christian Civilization Survive? 2. Does it Depend on Democracy? 3. Claims of Socialism:—and of Monopolism. 4. Defects of Democracy; Perfection of Democracy. 5. Capitalism, Individualism, the Profit System and the Machine Age. 6. Monopoly the Corrupter and Absorber of Wealth. 8. Socialization not Socialism. 9. "Render Unto Caesar, the things that are Caesars." 10. "Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None." 11. "The People Best Governed Who are Least Governed." 12. The New Deal Set Right: Social Income for Social Needs. 13. An Unlimited Future for All of Humanity through Scientific Economics.

IF President Roosevelt and the present Congress had to deal with a yellow fever epidemic what would they do? According to the way they are dealing with the depression they would ignore the presence of mosquitoes but would pass laws making it a crime for a yellow fever patient to convey the disease to another. They would order rouge applied to all sufferers to cure them of their yellowish appearance. And they would empower a commission to exact appropriate penalties for physicians who treated patients in ways other than those prescribed by the commission or them to follow. When in spite of these measures the epidemic would spread Congress would make the penalties more severe.

HERBERT SPENCER says: "Had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter." Why not make short work of the matter anyhow? For this robbery is not like the robbery of a horse or a sum of money, that ceases with the act. It is a fresh and continuous robbery, that goes on every day and every hour.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

## Work in California

EVEN though something may remain to be added at a later date, it seems proper at this moment to give your readers a resume of progress toward putting upon the California ballot at the coming election the constitutional amendment of which we have heretofore written and which proposes as its principal features the abolition of the recent California sales tax and progressive removal through a period of five years of all taxation upon improvements and tangible personal property, beginning with the abolition of taxation upon \$1,000 of the assessed value of all homestead improvements, taxation being transferred to land values.

As I have before written, this proposition received the endorsement last Fall of the California State Federation of Labor, and initiative petitions have been prepared for the placing of the amendment before the people at the coming election. These have to receive 110,000 signatures.

The campaign for signatures as well as for the general support of the proposition has progressed so far in the northern part of the State rather more rapidly than in the southern. The Central Labor Councils of San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Bakersfield, San Jose, and other places, as well as the building trades councils, have specifically backed up the demands for the State Federation and have pledged their support to the initiative proposition. Unions in a large number of the smaller towns of Northern California have taken like action. The campaign for individual signatures is progressing as rapidly as may be in all of these towns and many others of the State.

In Southern California a particularly active campaign has been inaugurated already in San Diego and is now getting under way very rapidly in Los Angeles. A very competent Speaker's Bureau has been created, in charge of Saul S. Klein, 311 Spring Street.

In every case where the labor organizations have been asked to sustain the action of the State Federation they have voted unanimously in favor of the proposition, and have done so in a majority of instances at any rate, after the proposition had been fully elucidated to them.

As there are in California at the present time not far from 200,000 men and women in active membership in the Unions, we have to begin with a formidable support. The recent State Convention of the Socialist Party voted unanimously to support this amendment, and its candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are active proponents. Two of the Democratic candidates are committed in its favor, and the same is true of a third possible candidate. Half a dozen farmers' clubs have unanimously favored the amendment.

My personal experience leads me to believe that Cali-

fornia is ripe for the move. In such individual canvass as I have made, I have found a certain number of apologists, probably not exceeding five per cent, for the sales tax, with a much less percentage of people who favor taxation of improvements and tangible personal property. Of course, the number who will fight for present conditions is very much larger than these figures would indicate, because my appeal has not been to those whom I knew in advance would be opposed, and in addition, great pressure may be brought to bear thereafter upon many now willing to declare themselves against taxation of the objects spoken of. Nevertheless, there is ample reason for believing that at the election a majority of the citizens of California will vote for this immense forward step.

We have to confront the fact, of course, that our opponents will be terribly bitter and use every social and political power within their reach to defeat the proposition. Even at this stage, while we have still a long way to go to secure a place upon the ballot, indications of this feeling are manifest. The reactionaries of Los Angeles, for instance, have declared the measure to be a "frightful menace," as no doubt it is—to privilege. One of the Los Angeles papers quotes Mr. Riley, the State Comptroller, and who is largely responsible for the sales tax, speaking at a recent meeting in Los Angeles, as follows:

"Possibility that state taxes in California will fall short of fiscal needs by about \$75,000,000, a biennium was suggested by Riley in case the initiative petition being circulated for repeal of the sales tax and in favor of a single tax should be successful.

"We are now faced with the prospect of having to combat this most vicious proposition which is inimical to every person living in California, whether he owns property or not," said Riley.

A confidential circular addressed to the building and loan associations declares that "The radical element in the State Federation of Labor, and the radicals in all other groups, have joined with the wealthy Fels-Naptha Soap Estate Trust, working under its perpetual endowment fund, to fasten Henry George's Single Tax theory on the people of California by an amendment of the state constitution," and it later refers to this "vicious Single Tax proposal." It will probably be news to your readers to find that after having been dead for twenty years, there exists a Fels fund of any kind. But its ghost still seems to walk.

We know we will have the bitter opposition of the owners of the very influential *Los Angeles Times* and of W. R. Hearst, as these gentlemen between them own probably not less than 2,000,000 acres of land in California. They will fight a measure which will transfer at once a very appreciable proportion of public charges back to them, these charges now being paid by the necessities of the State.

We shall not underestimate the strength of the influences which will be brought to bear against us, neither shall we make the mistake of underestimating the natural and logical strength of our own position, which we believe will

prevail, for after all, it is true that "Thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just."

It is undoubtedly true that today, early in the campaign, there are thousands of people who recognize that taxation should be levied upon the only form of property that society has a natural right to tax, that is to say, its own production in the shape of land values. Heretofore they have never given thought to the matter, but they now see clearly what righteousness demands.

All this is not to say that we find it necessary to invoke a large share of that philosophy which goes under the general name of "Single Tax." We do not discuss the land question, save in the sense of which we have spoken. We trouble ourselves with no academic discussions as to the rightfulness or wrongfulness of interest. Our addresses are strictly and solely to the justice of the proposition we are laying before the people of California. Only to this extent does theory interest us. The beneficial results to flow from the adoption of this specific measure are easily made manifest to any man who is not too dumb or too interested to be reached by ordinary reason.

I am beginning to wonder whether the people who have considered themselves in general sympathy with the fundamentals involved in this contest and who live outside of California have the slightest conception of the importance of the pending struggle. If we succeed, freedom of improvements and freedom of production to the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant of California, will be assured within a very brief period. Never before has such an important campaign in local taxation existed in the United States, or in any other country. It directly affects the well-being of 6,000,000 people in a State which in area is second in the United States. More persons, therefore stand to be benefited than have profited by all the smaller experiments of Australia, Canada, and elsewhere, to which any reference may be made. The importance of the struggle is further to be measured by the fact that our rate of taxation here is undoubtedly higher than in the other jurisdictions of which I have spoken, and therefore the contest becomes correspondingly increased in importance.

The interest in the contest taken outside of California as indicated by the results of such attention as LAND AND FREEDOM has heretofore given the matter is ridiculously unimportant. Up to date, I have received three sympathetic letters from readers of LAND AND FREEDOM, and total of \$7.00 cash, and Mr. George W. Patterson, the president for Southern California, has received nothing. It is, however, to be borne in mind that my suggestion of the necessity of aid has not yet been a pronounced one, but as the contest grows I shall call upon all friends for help.

I have indicated heretofore that we would need assistance in the way of speakers, but any assistance of this kind can only be of real value if those rendering it confine themselves to the lines of which I have spoken. We have

no time to discuss what we may call academic principles, or to paint undue roseate pictures, which have no place in this practical campaign. We must always keep "our eye on the ball," as the golf players say, and that ball is our constitutional amendment as supported by the California State Federation of Labor.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## News From Alaska

THE conditions in Alaska may be briefly summarized as follows: The Alaska interior is a one industry gold mining. It is estimated that there are 25,000 gold mining claims in the territory free of taxes. Only a small percentage of these claims are being worked. A large majority are held speculatively. Most of them have been acquired fraudulently and are held so. They comprise all the known auriferous area.

The government has spent over one hundred million dollars in the construction of roads, railroads, trails, etc., since 1913. This expenditure has not and is not assisting in the development expected. The value contributed by these projects has been absorbed in speculative values.

One obstacle to use is being substituted by another. Because of low tonnage, and because the adjacent areas are held out of use, high freight and passenger rates result. This of course penalizes the genuine developer. It is stated that the railroads have not paid in the sense that the operating costs exceed the revenues. They have not "paid" because the real values they create have escaped into private pockets.

Because of the high freight rates caused by the above conditions an uneconomic competition by automobile and airplane has resulted, tending to further diminish tonnage. As a result a system of tolls on the highways is being installed. Thus a vicious circle against development is being instituted, so that a few speculative holders can charge through their holdings for governmental facilities. This condition is being aggravated by the recent increase in the value of gold. Claims are jumping rapidly. The whole country is being "staked" illegally and without "discovery." A certain fool in Congress with the help of Burton K. Wheeler, has removed the "assessment work" provision, the last vestige of the pioneer requirement, that a man could not hold land without using it. This because, as one Senator has put it, "the owners are poor men," and "this is all they have," etc. A fool form of charity that creates the very unemployment the N.R.A. is designed to relieve! It is a crime to hoard gold in banks but apparently it is a virtue to hoard it in the ground. Of course, the latter is more vicious as it creates unemployment.

As a partial solution of this mess I am proposing that an area 120 miles wide having 60 miles of such wealth on

either side of the center line of the Alaskan R.R. and the road system, be called a transportation zone and within that area all unused gold claims be taxed \$2.00 an acre annually, all base metal claims \$1.00 an acre, and all agricultural claims ten cents an acre. Also that all payments made by purchase of existing development agencies be taxed ten per cent and also all royalties received. All funds thus realized to be applied to reduction of freight rates, the construction of roads, etc. I am confident that the solution, imperfect as I know it to be, is practical, and will result in the opening up of the country.

Most of the right thinking people of the territory are cognizant of existing conditions but are afraid to tackle them. As an illustration, last winter I succeeded in convincing the Fairbanks Chamber of Commerce, and the president of the Alaskan College, of the soundness of my position. A memorial was drawn up and submitted to the Alaskan legislature, but they were scared to death.

It is difficult to do anything from here. It must be presented to Congress through the President's advisers. I am not financially equipped to do it myself. But I am confident that Frederick C. Howe might be able to do something.

Alaska presents a great field for our philosophy and there is a crying need for immediate action. If any of your readers can place me in contact with any one that can be of service it would be a great help.

DONALD MACDONALD.

## Statement of Mr. Harry Weinberger

AT PUBLIC HEARING ON THE N. R. A., WASHINGTON, D.C.

I SAT here this morning and heard labor representatives talk about \$13.50 a week, and when I heard the Upholsterers' Union say that they were getting \$13.50, a minimum wage, which was now the maximum, and that they had twenty-five weeks of work a year, and then when I went out for lunch and read in the newspapers about the million dollar salaries that certain industries give to certain officers because they happen to be in the position where they can mulct the public, I wondered whether I was really living in a democracy where the people of the United States in reality are supposed to control the government. I wondered why it was that, having the richest country in the world, we still seemed unable to give human beings sufficient money to have what we used to call the American standard of living.

I came down here today, not as a representative of labor, but just as part of the public, because I felt that the N. R. A. seemed to be barking up the wrong tree. The N. R. A. has gone on the basis that we in America here are suffering from overproduction, that the things that we have got to do is to cut down the number of hours, cut down the use of machinery, take land out of use, pay farmers for doing nothing, and think that that was going to solve our problems.

America is not suffering from overproduction. American people are suffering from underconsumption. America can not buy the things that they can produce. With all of the natural wealth from coast to coast, with all of the improvements of machinery, with all of the inventions of science, we can still have men come here and,

like that song, "Please, Mister, give me a dime," think that the N. R. A. is doing something for them.

What is it that makes us go on in such a manner that all of the philosophy of life, all of the economics that we once were taught, all of the simple rules of two plus two makes four,—why is it that we have thrown it all out of the window, and have listened to the N. R. A., as if that were a new Moses to take us out of the land of bondage, when, as a matter of fact, all they are giving us are beautiful words.

Do not think, now, however, that I do not understand that the President of the United States and General Johnson and the N. R. A. have a difficult problem. I know it. For their ideals and the things that they are trying to do, I honor them, but I believe that fundamentally they are wrong when they think that the solution of American problems is to reduce the production of goods, destroy pigs, destroy wheat, put cotton underneath the plow and turn it under, which even the mules down South have refused to do, because they were always taught, in going up the furrow, to step over the plants.

Many of the economists here in Washington have been talking about overproduction. That fallacious point of view, that shortsightedness, is like the marvelous description in one of the old fables about a king who had a wonderful costume made and every body said how beautiful and wonderful it was, because only the good were supposed to be able to see it. Suddenly a child said "Why, the King is naked." We need the eyes of a child today to look at our economic situation, trying not to be smart, but trying to understand that there can be no overproduction; there is only underconsumption. We have wonderful machinery making too much clothing so that millions are without clothes and without jobs. We have agriculture that produces so much wheat and corn and fruits and vegetables that millions have to go hungry; we have so many houses so that millions are homeless. There is no limit to human consumptive power; there is only underconsumption caused by inability to purchase, and the question is how or why.

The most that I can possibly do in my few minutes is drop a thought in your mind that may grow and lead you to investigate and find out whether, if you took all taxes off industry, if you took all taxes off buildings and put them upon the bare rental value of the ground, a community-created value amply sufficient for community needs it would not create more jobs—create more jobs than men. When you have more jobs than men, wages go up, and you don't have to say, "Please, Mister, give me a dime," and you don't have to say "\$13.50 is the maximum or minimum salary for men for support of a family. When you have more jobs than men, wages go up, and the consumption power and the demand for goods and food is increased. By employing the unemployed, you produce more goods and under the law of supply and demand prices will be normal and not abnormal, neither too high nor too low.

In New York City, and the same is true of other cities, every time they build a new subway or propose to build a new subway,—we had a man here asking for \$25,000,000 this afternoon, to finish the subway in the City of New York,—every time they build a bridge, every time science creates a new and better form of living, every time population increases, the individual who gets the most benefit is the one who owns the bare land, but who did not create it.

When we had a tremendous housing shortage in New York City, it was proposed that all houses built within a certain period would be tax-exempt for ten years; that law of exemption of houses from taxation was passed. Thousands of houses were built, the housing shortage was solved, hundreds of thousands of people were given jobs directly and indirectly, and rents came down.

I know it is claimed that the N. R. A. is an emergency measure; that is what was said at first. Now there is talk of making it permanent. At first it was hinted that there would be a licensing of the press and then when a furor was raised, that feeler was withdrawn.

If it is an emergency measure we must have, we should not cut down the production of food and clothing and shelter to raise prices by making a scarcity. We might also say we will use the army in this emergency instead of for war and defense only; we might say we will turn the army loose, with its army kitchens to feed the hungry, and use the armories for men and women to at least keep warm; use army engineers to supervise C. W. A. workers, many of whom seem to be making holes in the ocean, or sweeping back the waves, as far as effective work is concerned. Use the C. W. A. workers for a real constructive work in line with their ability and training.

Now we have more and more taxes; every kind of tax that the ingenuity of man can devise. I am not going into the question of whether the N. R. A. is wiping out the little fellow, the little producer, but I am definitely opposed to doing away with the anti-trust laws and allowing monopolies under any excuse, as the history of this country too often has shown that the owners of monopolies, like public utilities and the railroads in the past, control the controllers instead of being controlled.

Historian, scientists and economists, tell you that in the pioneer form of society you did not have unemployment. That only if nature failed did you have starvation. That is the very thing that our complicated form of society stops us from seeing. If a savage, if a pioneer in a new country, without the help of civilization and machinery can produce enough commodities to support himself and his family and by exchange have all he needs, where does the tremendous increase of products go to when science teaches man how to turn out by the millions things that man could not do with his bare hands?

There stands progress, under our civilization, like a glorified monument, but in its shadow also stands slinking dangerous poverty, clawing at its foundations and threatening to overthrow it. It is the riddle which the sphinx of fate puts to our civilization.

Every nation of the world is facing this problem so it cannot be the form of government we live under. Luckily, under our form of government, economic changes can be made without losing our liberty.

Why, every few years, should the ability of the community to buy and consume the products produced cease? Can it be that the cause of it all is the increasing value of land caused by increasing population and advance of civilization, causing higher and higher rent leaving less money in the pockets of the producers to buy the commodities produced, leaving less return on capital invested?

Recurring depressions, recurring panics, must be prevented for the future, by society taking the full rental value of the bare ground removing all other taxes from industry and improvements on land, all of which will force all land, including farm land, into its fullest economic use, and thus will create more jobs than men. Wages will go up and the cost of living will come down and involuntary unemployment will cease in the land.

One would think, to hear the N. R. A. orators, including General Johnson and Mr. Richberg, that this depression, closed banks, for closed mortgages, and unemployment, are new in the history of our country. The history of other panics and depressions shows all the same manifestations. They are all described in a book known "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, and in that book is given the cause and the cure. If you overlook the date on that book, published in 1879, you will imagine it was written yesterday to make a morning edition of the newspapers. If you read Henry George's speech entitled "The Crime of Poverty," published in 1885, and overlook the date, you will imagine it was delivered this morning because it takes up the same so-called overproduction, the same unemployment, the same question of free trade or tariff, and in the speech Henry George pointed, in his opinion and in mine, a way out.

Three million people additionally employed, said General Johnson. Eleven million unemployed, says Mr. Green of the American Federation of Labor. What is it? In the greatest country in the world as far as natural resources are concerned, why is it that, as you p

through the country you see thousands of acres of land, absolutely unused, and the people unable to use it, to raise anything on it, and they tell us this is all new. Go back and see all of the other panics of the past.

All over the country today we are hearing about slum clearance and the taking of millions of dollars of the people's money to do it. We should have slum clearance. But what happens when the city, state, or nation begins to buy land? The price is run up and the land speculators are relieved of their land at high prices, or the owners of the land get rid of white elephants, all at the expense of the people.

When you build great roads or great improvements like the Boulder Dam, or when you build a great bridge like the George Washington Bridge in the city of New York, or the proposed Tri-Boro Bridge, costing millions of dollars, all the land, in and around the improvement, goes up in value because of this expenditure of money by the government, and those who desire thereafter to use the land or buy a piece of land for a home, an apartment house, factory, et cetera, find they cannot afford to buy it and you have what you have in New Jersey—miles of land in and around the end of the George Washington Bridge with very few buildings being erected, because the land is being held out of use for a further rise in value—that value created by the community or the community's money or the growth of population.

In the City of New York, the new School for Social Research wanted to build a building on Twelfth Street, and they paid two hundred thousand dollars for the mere fee of the land on which to erect the building. No one produced that land—no one except the community produced the value of that land, yet someone pocketed two hundred thousand dollars. The Wendel home on Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Ninth Street, with its dog-yard, has been going up in value and some day someone will pay millions for it and put up a skyscraper. The Wendels never lifted a finger to create that value.

In New York City we have land value and improvement value separate on our tax rolls. The land value of the City of New York is given as nine billion dollars; the improvement value is about the same. The community created that value of the land, and yet we permit the owners of the land to take the full rental value less taxes before either capital or labor can get any return on its investment or on its labor.

The Mayor of New York states the city is bankrupt, and yet if the city should put a one per cent additional tax on the land value of the City of New York, it would give to the city ninety million dollars additional revenue, and that land could not run away as the stock brokers and bankers threatened when in the last administration additional taxes were proposed.

If we had the best police department, the best fire department, the best schools and the cleanest streets, the best water, the best theatres, the best roads, as we now have a Mayor who seems as good as our old Mayor Gaynor of years ago, we would have an influx of people into the City of New York, because it would be a better place to live in and do business in and there would be an increase in value of the ground, and higher rents. If one million people move into the City of New York tomorrow, the value of the land and rents would go up tremendously, caused by the community having increased in population. And yet those values or a return on them are allowed to be taken by the owners of the land or speculators in land.

Mr. Chairman, my feelings about the N.R.A. is not that the purposes are not good, not that the men who are trying to enforce it are not trying to move in the right direction, but any thought that what we need to day is to cut down production instead of having a better distribution of wealth is wrong; my feeling is to let all machinery be used to the fullest, and let men work as long as they want to, commensurate with what is good for human beings, protecting them to the extent where they need protection, where they can not protect themselves by labor unions or voluntary cooperation. Increase pro-

duction, but for Heaven's sake stop the private taking of the community-created value of farm lands and other lands, and also the value added by public improvements that the United States and local governments make. Take that community-created value by taxing the full rental value of the land, without considering the improvements.

I feel, Mr. Chairman, that that is the crux in the entire situation, not overproduction, but underconsumption. That is where, it seems to me, the "brain trust," down here in Washington, has really become "brain dust" and not a "brain trust."

We want America to produce; we want men to be able to stand up and not come down to Washington with their hats in their hands asking a minimum of \$13.50 a week, with twenty-five weeks of employment a year.

Where are these Americans that, once upon a time, established a government, a government of free men on this soil? \$13.50 should be marked as an epitaph on the graves of those Americans who can not live on \$13.50, and remain free men.

## Youth of America News

AT the last meeting of the Central Council, the President, Walter Hecht, Jr., tendered his resignation, giving as his reasons a shortage of time available for the work to be done. His employment demands the greatest amount of his time—page Mr. Johnson and the Blue Eagle.

His resignation was unanimously rejected with a vote of complete confidence and his lack of time objection was answered by the election of N. Newstad Epstein as executive secretary. He is to devote full time to his duties, his first being to secure an office for a permanent headquarters for the Youth of America.

The Chicago setup is very strong (on paper), since its council boasts as its members officers of the Student-Citizen Federation, University Student's Club, Evanston Alliance and several others. Such a group sits in an enviable position because of its educational reform programme, for the matter of schools and education will be of prime importance here this coming year.

### 1934—A SUPER-YEAR OF PROGRESS IN CHICAGO

With this as a slogan—timely following our celebration of a Century of Progress—we plan to call together the heads of important groups, tax associations, organizations such as the Citizen's Committee on Public Expenditures, Civic Federation and all other groups apparently bent upon civic reform, yet appearing to be devoid of political ambition. The Youth of America, representing several thousand Chicago and suburban young men and women, will sponsor the programme and act as a clearing house of ideas.

A meeting will be called of these heads of the various organizations. Each will have been instructed to bring a ten-point programme of *achievable* objects. This purpose will again be outlined at the meeting by some man such as Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago (available at this writing), and other highly respected citizens of non-political fame may

speak. A committee will be appointed to draft a ten-point programme of achievable objects.

Then the method of procedure which will consist of:

Enrollment of a corps of speakers who will talk before churches, women's clubs, parent-teachers associations, etc. Speaking dates to be arranged and schedules planned by the clearing house (Youth of America). These speakers will find entry where recognized politicians fear to tread.

The heads of each group represented will be expected to educate their organizations to the programme and enlist active sympathy.

Preston Bradley and other men who have promised aid and impetus to the Youth of America will be called upon to keep their promises by advocating this programme of unified effort.

The Youth of America will prepare a series of radio dramatizations of the programme. Space on the air is gratis to the Youth of America whereas a political club generally pays plenty for its publicity.

The Youth of America can supply a young precinct captain for each square block in the city after this gets started, and proceed Tammany-wise to visit every household and discuss the policy.

The best mailing lists in the city will be secured, and by calling upon each representative group to pay a portion of the mailing expense of the organization, a pretty good coverage can be anticipated.

No representative improvement club or other association will be called upon to contribute anything but service and time. The only exception being the mailing of literature and printing expenses which they themselves will mail out to those with whom they may have influence. This literature will be prepared by the clearing house.

Accepting the sound psychological fact that doing something for nothing strikes the fancy of none, we intend to proceed with the belief that the heads of most of these organizations are constantly on the lookout for work that will keep their organizations busy—and keep themselves in the limelight and in office. Young men and women in the high schools and colleges are filled with sufficient idealism to work for nothing but glory—they don't have to be promised anything. As for the speakers—everyone likes to speak, and if supplied with an audience will jump at the chance. If supplied with a topic so much the better.

The name, Youth of America, loosely refers to a group of co-ordinating youth groups throughout the country and to councils already forming in various cities composed of members from already organized youth clubs and leagues. It has a national recovery platform which represents a middle course between socialism and rampant monopolistic-capitalism. It offers real capitalism; has a suffrage plank calling for the enfranchisement of eighteen-year-olds; educational programme outlined on authority of Dr. Hutchins (already mentioned); peace plank and others yet dearer to the heart of the Georgist.

Effort so far has been local in nature, yet inquiries pour

in from the four corners of the nation. Its national platform is rarely made an issue—time enough for that.

Although loosely organized at present, The Youth of America is the largest non-political group in the city. It is young enough not to have made any serious mistakes or enemies. Its hands are clean. People may laugh at the "idealism of youth," but they have faith in the sincerity of purpose that it connotes. Few will suspect youth of ulterior motives or trickery. In truth, the Youth of America is absolutely sincere in respect to this programme with a purpose. Every member will supply time and effort and none will receive monetary recompense with the exception of a secretary who will devote his entire time to the job.

RICHARD E. HOWE.

## Work in Washington, D.C.

THE Civics and Equity League has just concluded a series of Sunday afternoon radio talks over its station WOL, by Joseph B. Chamberlain, of Kensington, Md., beginning with a Woodrow Wilson birthday memorial address, in which the most forward-looking of that President's utterances were quoted.

In harmony with Henry George's assertion that "unless a cause can be presented as a question of right and wrong, it cannot provoke discussion or excite the many to action," the emphasis in each address was placed upon the moral rather than the economic aspect of the subject; but, while the word "Single Tax" was not used, there was the positive reiteration, in varied forms, of the fact that the rental value of land belongs to society, and the persistent suggestion throughout the addresses, that the land question is fundamental and lies at the root of all present-day economic problems.

Among the topics announced were "The Iniquity of Civilization," "A Code of Economic Ethics," "Radicalism versus Conservatism," "The Radical Remedy for Chronic Economic Ills," "The Gospel According to Abraham Lincoln," and "The Gospel According to Ralph Waldo Emerson."

The number of comments—mostly favorable—received by the station indicates that Mr. Chamberlain's programme did not lack listeners, and he is to be congratulated on his success in thus getting his message across. The Single Taxers of Washington are hoping that a "return engagement" may be arranged for later in the season.

GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

IT requires reflection to see that manifold effects result from a single cause, and that the remedy for a multitude of evils may lie in one simple reform. . . . But attention is distracted and effort divided by schemes of reform which though they may be good in themselves are, with reference to the great end to be attained, either inadequate or super-adequate.

"Protection or Free Trade," Chap. XXVIII.

# Keeping Step With Progress

## FOOLISH RESTRICTIONS

It is unemployment or fear of unemployment which creates the demand for most of the foolish restrictions which are today proposed for industry. These restrictions are not in any way a cure for unemployment and their advocacy indicates a complete failure to understand the cause of unemployment. For this we must look closely to the fundamentals of our institutions, and if we do so, we shall find it in our faulty system of land tenure.

We are now requiring the owners of land to pay very little in taxes as long as the land is not built upon or improved. On the other hand whenever the land is utilized for industry or home purposes, we add taxes on the improvements and on the profits obtained from them. In this way throughout the country we are directly discouraging the employment of capital and labor by the heavy taxes on such employment, while at the same time we are encouraging the practice of withholding land from use for speculative purposes, and thus indirectly discouraging the employment of capital and labor. The lower the taxes on the land itself, the more readily can speculators withhold it from the use of industry and can thus force industry to pay high prices or high rents to secure its use.

In the years just prior to the big depression, industry was paying higher and higher speculative prices or rents for the use of land, and this burden combined with the heavy burden of taxation, finally made industry so unstable that collapse was bound to follow. Now that land prices have been largely deflated, it is possible for new business enterprises, or for old ones which have adjusted themselves, to go ahead with a prospect of profit, and hence they are able to give increasing employment to labor.

What is needed now is to encourage industry to the utmost and thus absorb the unemployed workers. This can be done by the removal of restrictions and taxes on the buildings, machinery, merchandise and operations of industry, and by increasing the taxes on the mere ownership of land so as to kill the practice of speculation in the first requisite of industry, namely the land upon which to do business.

JOHN S. CODMAN in *Mill and Factory* for January

## THE ENCLAVIAL MOVEMENT

May I begin with a personal explanation? I am not here to try to persuade persons to believe in the doctrines of Henry George. I acknowledge that that is a great and glorious mission, but I do not happen to be on it. I leave that to the other speakers. I address myself to believers. I am to give a chronicle of the progress of the movement for emancipation, which, though loaded with figures and other statements of fact, will not seem dull to them, for it shows a successful progress in what they hold most dear. The unbelievers I hope will be very patient with me.

I have a friend, who, when he first heard of enclaves, used to consider them as a small measure of Single Tax. Nowadays, having become wiser, he speaks of them as a large measure of Single Tax on a small scale. That is my attitude. I find great satisfaction in the results actually obtained.

But the movement is even more than economic. It is essentially religious, for it is the embodiment of the verse in the Lord's prayer, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven, and represents the brotherhood of man and hence the fatherhood of God. So far as this country is concerned this movement began with the foundation of the enclave of Fairhope in Alabama in 1895. That was the great work of Ernest B. Gaston, who is here with us today. The latest enclave is the enclave of Wall Hill, Miss., in 1932. These areas have advanced, in the last ten years in number from nine to fifteen, in area from ten square miles to 929 (or 74% of the area of Rhode Island); in population from 1100 to 12,000; in rent from \$24,000 to \$156,000; and from eight states and nations have spread themselves into twelve.

Ten of the enclaves are in the United States and have an area of 5831 acres and a rent of upwards of \$80,000.

—From address of FISKE WARREN at Henry George Congress in Saturday, Harvard, Mass.

## PROF. PAUL PASSY ON GEORGEAN SOCIALISM

Some readers of *l'Esprit* have been interested by my July article, "Justice First," and by the allusions contained therein to the theories of Henry George. So much so that they have asked me to tell them more about this subject. I am more than willing to do this, except that I cannot say much in a short article.

The writings of Henry George are not accessible to every one. His principal work, "Progress and Poverty," has indeed been translated into French, but it is a very large volume demanding time and thought. I am, however, very shortly going to publish a translation of his Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII (a reply to the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*). It is easy to read and at the same time is explicit and of compelling interest.

Meanwhile here is a short resume of the system:

The main principle is that natural resources, or that which is the product of the labor of an unknown and unrecognized multitude, should belong to the community. On the other hand, the product of the labor of an individual should belong wholly to the individual that produced it. Society must see to it that these principles be enforced.

(One can see by this that Georgism is really socialistic—be it said without offense to most of its devotees.)

But how can Society make sure that these principles be carried out? Here is the plan—Natural resources mean the earth, that inexhaustible reservoir, which every man has to use, directly or indirectly, in order to work. The value of land, nothing to begin with, grows with the development of society, in other words, through the agency of an anonymous and unknown multitude. Wherefore that value must belong to the community. The community collects that value by levying on the land, the bare land regardless of any improvements made upon it, a tax equal to the economic rent of that land, that is, what its site value is worth. Hence only those have an interest to hold land who wish to use it for their work.

For example, a piece of land in Champagne worth 500 francs a hectare would be taxed 25 francs. One square meter of land in Paris worth 10,000 francs would be taxed 500 francs, which would mean five millions a hectare.

The money supplied by this tax is used for the benefit of the community, and this one tax takes the place of all other taxes—taxes which Henry George calls sheer robbery. Hence the name Single Taxers is frequently applied to Georgists.

Henry George and his followers believe, with strong reasons to support them, that this one reform would completely stop land exploitation and speculation, and would bury foul capitalism once for all.

I myself am not a docile disciple of Henry George any more than I am of Proudhon, Malon, or Marx. I am not entirely sure that Georgism, even rigorously applied, is all that is necessary without supplementary measures to attain the goal of an equal access for everyone to natural resources. Other questions spring up in one's mind. The tax is levied "for the benefit of the community."—What community? The town, city, county, state, nation or the world? Would there be a distribution, and, if so, following what principles?

However these reservations and one or two others do not prevent me from saying that Georgism attracts me more than any other form of socialism. I see several advantages in it.

1. It is Libertarian, exactly the contrary of state socialism. There is no bureaucracy, no central organization as in Russia. Far from that, it would allow of a heavy reduction in the number of office holders and functionaries, for the value of land is the easiest thing to estimate and would therefore need the fewest experts, and fraud, one might say, would be impossible.

2. It would be practicable immediately. There would be no need

to wait for an international agreement before starting. A nation could inaugurate it at once. (That is what should be tempting to our right-wing socialists). Even better it could be tried on a small scale; that is what they are now doing in Australia, and what our friend Warren, with such splendid energy, is doing in his enclaves.

3. Although profoundly revolutionary in its essence, Georgism could be started with a minimum of disturbance, for practically all that needs to be done is to change the manner of taxation. One could even do it in easy stages: for instance, start in by levying only a quarter of the economic rent, at the same time suppressing a corresponding quantity of other taxes (this is essential); the next year levy half, and so on.

But what pleases me more than anything else about Georgism is the spirit that animates it. This spirit is an eager, flaming claim for justice. It doesn't concern itself whether the present system makes for a social revolution or not as do the Marxists. What it does say is that the present system is unjust, and, since it is, it must be overthrown. To be replaced by what? By the natural order of things which capitalism has been desecrating with sacrilegious hands. In fact, far from seeing capitalism as a normal stage in revolution, Henry George sees it as "an evil resisting the benevolent intentions of the Creator." (The phrase of Monsignor Nulty, the Bishop of Meath, in Ireland, but which Henry George thoroughly accepts.)

I have now given good reasons including especially to Christian socialists, for a further study of Henry George, and I commend them to his Letter to the Pope, which I hope everyone will wish to read.

(Note: When Prof. Passy uses the word capitalism, he means what followers of Henry George in America usually describe as monopoly.)

From *L'Espoir du Monde* translated by Marjorie Warren Whitman in *Saturday*, Howard, Mass.

### ILLUSIONARY PROSPERITY THROUGH SCARCITY

What is the main principle running through the government's agricultural policy?

Stripped of all camouflage, it is simply that, faced with starvation in the midst of plenty, it proposes to remedy matters by abolishing plenty.

Protection, quotas, restriction or prohibition of imports, are all plain devices to restrict supplies and create scarcity, while the marketing schemes make no provision whatever for better marketing, increasing efficiency, reducing the costs of distribution, preventing rises in rent, or increasing wages.

Take the potato scheme. It simply aims at reducing supplies and incidentally gives the Potato Board powers to forbid anyone becoming a potato merchant and to forbid a farmer selling direct to a retailer, or even to a consumer.

The upshot of it all will be to create a vested interest in the form of a close corporation of potato merchants, entry to whose ranks can only be accomplished by buying a partnership, while the right to grow potatoes will be jealously guarded by a fine of £5 per acre for every new acre.

In none of the government schemes is any mention made of rent or wages. Yet the policy is put forward to help agriculture, and the only people engaged in agriculture are left unprotected against rack rent and sweated labor.

\* \* \* \* \*

All through history it has been high rents and not low prices that have caused farming depression. From 1775 to 1795 farmers thrived well enough, with wheat about 46s., yet in 1804 we find a commission reporting that agriculture would be ruined unless the price of wheat exceeded 70s.

Why? The answer was that rents had more than doubled. From 1795 to 1815 Scottish rents had risen from about two millions to over five millions a year. Farmers were ruined and workers were on Poor Law relief. Wheat rose 80 per cent. and poor rates rose 50 per cent., while rents rose 150 per cent.

One wonders if any of the advocates of the Government's policy of crazy price-raising ever think of what actually happens when agricultural prices rise fictitiously.

It happened after the war, yet it seems all forgotten.

When prices rise the competition for farms at once increases and rents and prices offered by the wildest speculators and optimists rule the market. The prudent farmer is compelled to accept these values under the threat of "Pay or Quit."

ARTHUR R. McDUGAL in London *Daily Herald*.

### DOES NOT BELIEVE IN TAXES

I frequently receive letters of criticism from readers who after all these years have not developed the picture I have tried to paint of my personal economic philosophy.

I am an individualist and I do not recognize the right of the state to dictate to me in my private affairs so long as those affairs do not impose on the freedom of my fellows.

I do not believe in tariffs, in taxes, in enforced labor, or enforced idleness.

I hold that there is enough natural resources on this earth to provide a good living for every human being on the earth and I hold that the private monopoly of land is the sole reason for the ills that beset civilization.

I do not regard money as wealth, and I hold that the man who from the earth produces wealth is entitled to ALL the wealth he produces.

I hold that the user of the land should pay to the government an annual rental, say one-fifth the value of the land, but that he should pay no taxes on his chattels, tools, house, store building, factory or other improvement.

I am against state bureaucracy and therefore am just as much opposed to state socialism as I am to state communism. I am just as thoroughly against Hitlerism and Mussolinism as I am against state capitalism ruled by the house of Morgan.

Fifty years ago it is to be doubted if there were fifty men on earth who held to the above philosophy of economics. Today there are hundreds of thousands of men who so believe and the adherents of this philosophy are increasing in greater numbers each year than the adherents of any other theory.

The co-operative commonwealth, with all natural resources held forever for all the people, is the only way out—at least that has been my notion for years and all my reading and inspection of affairs merely makes stronger my adherence to this cause of human freedom.

HILL BILLY, columnist in the *Seattle Star*.

### SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE LONG AGO

A fruitful and fair means of increasing the resources of the State and of the municipalities may be found in a measure which we Liberals have advocated for many a long day past—the taxation of land values—(cheers)—the recovery for the community of the values that are created by mere growth of population. That should have been done long ago. It would have brought in, had it been done, an abundant revenue today for the lessening of our rates and taxes. It has not been done because of the successful resistance of the Conservative party, and it is now for us to see that that resistance is overcome.

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL as reported in *Manchester Guardian*.

### OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE

The taxation of land values is not a new item in Liberal policy, but it has lost none of its importance as a proposal of the first magnitude.  
*London Spectator*

### PRELUDE TO ANOTHER DEPRESSION

The Mortgage Guarantee Company of Los Angeles today withdrew its San Joaquin Valley ranch holdings from the market with

the object of readjusting prices to a higher level in anticipation of a continued upward price trend in agricultural lands.

H. L. Richmond of Fresno, district manager, said his firm is confident ranch properties, particularly vineyards, will increase in value in the next several months.

Richmond said the company's holdings in the valley total about 100,000 acres of which 20,000 acres is in a single block in the Tulare lake wheat area.

Holdings of the Mortgage Guarantee Associates, an affiliate of the Guarantee Company, also will be marked up in price.

Fresno (Calif.) *Bee*

### HIGH LAND VALUES INCREASE COSTS

Between 1906 and 1932 the area of the City of Toronto was increased 44%. During the same period land values of Toronto increased as follows:

|            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| 1906 ..... | \$65,410,655 |
| 1916 ..... | 290,787,500  |
| 1932 ..... | 385,514,568  |

These increased land values simply mean that the comparatively few people and firms who own three-quarters of the total land values of Toronto are able to charge the public several hundred per cent. more for the use of the land than they could in 1906. These increases have helped to increase the spread in the price of milk as well as of many other farm products. The concealed charges upon business that arise from this cause are much greater than is realized.

The largest item of expense distributors have to meet is that of wages. In order that their employees may pay the high rentals which prevail in cities, the distributors have to pay them higher wages than they otherwise would. Very few people know, for instance, that a milk driver, receiving a wage of, say, \$1,200 a year, pays out over one-third of all he earns to settle rents in one form or another. The rental of his own home would probably be around \$360.00 a year, but, added to the cost of every pound of meat, loaf of bread, suit of clothes, and ton of coal he buys, are the rental charges of the retailers and wholesalers and railway companies which handle these goods in the high-costing city land. These charges are concealed in the wages which the milk distributors pay their employees and are not disclosed in such investigations as have been conducted in the past.

The same is true of the tariff. The cost of erecting a plant for the distribution of milk is probably 20% to 25% greater than it would be because of the tariff charges added on to the cost of practically everything that enters into the construction of the building. This is true also, of the equipment used in the operation of the plant. For instance, approximately \$400.00 in tariff charges are added to the cost of a \$1,000.00 truck. Thus a large firm operating twenty trucks pays out about \$8,000 tariff charges on those trucks alone. This has to be added to the price of milk and increases the spread. Again, the employees have to be paid wages that will enable them to pay these concealed tariff charges on practically all the goods they buy.

The public has little or no conception of how vastly the spread is increased by these two factors.

*Farm and Dairy* is not opposed to further investigations of the spread in the price of farm products. But, if any more are held they should give the attention to these two factors that their importance requires. We doubt if the government at Toronto and Ottawa will want to bring up the effect of the tariff on the spread, but unless they investigate it any investigations they conduct will be as fruitless as all previous investigations that have been held over a period of many years.—Editorial *Farm and Dairy*, Peterborough, Can.

### GOING TO THE ROOT

*Chambers' Weekly* is a Single Tax paper. We know how to cure the depression. We know how to bring 40 cents per pound for more cotton than we can produce. We know how to bring \$5 daily to com-

mon labor without a war. We know how to create more jobs than there are men to fill. We know how to end poverty, and along with it end most of disease and crime. And all this without government interference or restriction of production or government meddling in private business. Our programme will have to be adopted if this government is to be saved.

Our programme is untax industry. Nothing that labor creates should be taxed. The State of Georgia should collect no taxes on improvements. There should be no general property tax. There should be no corporation tax, no excise tax, no street tax, no poll tax, no intangible tax, no license tax, no tobacco tax, no automobile tag tax.

The way to end the depression is to remove these taxes. If you do this you will have no recourse but to get the money for the upkeep of government from the value of land. Since land values are made by the public and have no relation to the value of improvements there should be no injustice in such action. What is made by everybody should go to everybody. What is made by the individual should be his. The three factors of production are labor, capital and land. When you place a tax on ground rent it cannot be added to the price, and the owner simply loses what he has been taking. If you tax anything made by labor it can be added to the price. If you take away all ground rent you knock out land speculation. Men can no longer hold land which they, themselves, do not use. Thus you will free the factors of production, and land will be at the disposal of anybody who will use it. All the money paid in interest and on purchase price of land is ground rent. This the government should take for operating expenses. This programme will put an end to any foreclosures. It will practically make land the property of everybody and since land is monopoly this is as it should be. You would still hold title as you do today.

There is land enough for everybody to use. There is land enough in Georgia to support all the population of the entire United States. The land question is the only question before the people of this nation. Permitting individuals to appropriate the products of labor and capital because they own valuable lands is the cause of our depression. When you strike at landlordism as set out above you are dealing with causes. As long as value can go into land as a thing to speculate and gamble in and buy and sell there can be no value in the things produced from land. If the Single Tax were adopted in Georgia today the other States of the nation would be compelled to follow and the depression would not last 60 days. The earth must be set free. The Single Tax must be adopted before there can be employment for all the people of this nation and you had just as well open up your little brain and let the idea seep through

Editorial *Chambers' Weekly*, Atlanta, Ga.

SINCE prospects seem slim that either state or federal governments will relieve industry of taxation or make any effort to take land values for public use, how can the depression be stopped? Barring accidental discovery of new and still unmonopolized natural resources, only by a drastic reduction in the standard of living. Such a reduction is now taking place. It can be seen in the crowding of families and the increased emptying of many houses. It can be seen in the heretofore unknown "penny restaurants" selling food of a kind that few would eat before. This tendency will finally reach a point enabling industry to resume and still pay tribute to predatory interests. The great mass of workers will emerge from hard times degraded to a lower scale of living. When optimists say "we have gotten over other depressions," they do not reckon at what cost.

# The Henry George Lecture Assn.

(United with the Henry George Foundation of America)  
538 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, Director and Treasurer

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## ITINERARY OF JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, MARCH 4 TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1934

|                                                                   |                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Illinois (Bloomington, Peoria, Springfield) . . .                 | March 4—10     |
| Iowa (Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Sioux City) . . . . . | March 11—17    |
| Nebraska (Omaha, Fremont, Lincoln) . . . .                        | March 18—24    |
| Kansas (Topeka, Emporia, Wichita) . . . .                         | March 25—31    |
| Missouri (Kansas City, Jefferson City) . . .                      | April 1—7      |
| (St. Louis) . . . . .                                             | April 8—14     |
| Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama (Memphis, Fairhope) . . . . .     | April 15—21    |
| Louisiana (New Orleans) . . . . .                                 | April 22—28    |
| (Natchitoches, Monroe, Minden, Shreveport) . . . . .              | April 29—May 5 |
| Texas (Dallas, Houston, Beaumont) . . . .                         | May 6—12       |
| (Austin, New Braunfels, San Antonio) . . .                        | May 13—19      |
| Arizona (El Paso, Tucson, Phoenix) . . . .                        | May 20—26      |
| California (San Diego) . . . . .                                  | May 27—June 2  |
| (Los Angeles) . . . . .                                           | June 3—16      |
| (Bakersfield, Fresno, Stockton) . . . . .                         | June 17—23     |
| (San Francisco) . . . . .                                         | June 24—July 7 |
| California, Oregon (Sacramento, Eugene) . .                       | July 8—14      |
| Oregon, Washington (Portland, Tacoma, Olympia) . . . . .          | July 15—21     |

|                                                                                  |                       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Washington (Seattle) . . . . .                                                   | July 22—28            |
| British Columbia (Victoria, Nanaimo, Vancouver) . . . . .                        | July 29—August 4      |
| British Columbia, Washington (New Westminster, Wenatchee) . . . . .              | August 5—11           |
| Washington (Spokane, Walla Walla) . . . . .                                      | August 12—18          |
| Idaho, Utah (Boise, Salt Lake City) . . . . .                                    | August 19—25          |
| Colorado (Grand Junction, Leadville, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Denver) . . . . . | August 26—September 1 |

The next trip will be through Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakota.

## News from Washington State

WE believe we are on the verge of making history in the State of Washington. Signatures to an Initiative Measure in the interest of "home-owning" are being secured so rapidly, and the Measure is so popular, that the chances seem better than even it will be enacted into law by the votes of the people at the election in November.

This is not a hybrid Measure like the one proposed by Theron McCampbell in New Jersey, or the one to be voted on in Florida, so widely advertised by Arthur Brisbane. Under our proposed Measure no land, if it has any value, will be exempted from taxation. On the other hand, there is no limit on the value of improvements. A man may build a \$100,000 home, and so long as he uses it as a home it will be exempt.

Following are three of the principal sections:

Section 1. Any building, habitation or structure occupied as a home by the owner of the land or real property upon which the same is located for six months immediately prior to the time for assessing property, together with all outhouses or structures upon said land or real property and used in connection with and as a part of said home and all personal property used for home purposes, are hereby exempted from taxation, and from lis-pendens, levy, distraint or seizure, in any action or proceeding, other than an action to foreclose or enforce payment of a mortgage or lien upon all or any part of the property so constituting such home.

Section 2. All land or real property beneath or about the Home mentioned in the preceding section shall, for taxation purposes, be valued in its primitive state without considering any buildings, clearing, cultivation or other form of improvement thereon.

Section 6. The amount of land and real property constituting the Home mentioned or referred to in this Act shall not exceed five acres in area; provided, however, that land commonly known as farms or ranches shall not exceed forty acres for irrigable land, or over one hundred and sixty acres for non-irrigable land to each home, and no person shall claim more than one home.

All Single Taxers residing in the State of Washington who are in a position to assist us in securing signatures to this Measure are requested to send their names and addresses to me, P. O. Box 193, Seattle, and I will supply them with blank petitions. There is no time to lose. All petitions should be in by July 1.

EUGENE WAY.

ALPHABETICAL policies to bring business recovery are not as simple as ABC but are much simpler than Simple Simon.

A LITTLE boy once described the mind as something that went round and round and made up stories.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE MENACE OF RECOVERY\*

This book carefully details the history of the Federal recovery programme as it was developed and applied up to the end of 1933. Eleven chapters cover the historic details, accompanied occasionally by comments which indicate the author's critical points of view, and a last chapter sums up Mr. MacDonald's appraisal of results and his beliefs as to the inevitability of what amounts to a Presidential Dictatorship, marked with a pronounced State Socialist interest. An appendix furnishes significant extracts from the emergency banking, the agricultural adjustment, the securities, the home-owners and the national recovery acts, and the laws passed relating to the Tennessee Valley Authority, and gold contracts and legal tender. An index to contents is included.

The writer of this review has not seen anything referring to the present volume, but it can be here testified that in it "the new deal" has been very competently examined and explained.

Among the concluding sentences of the last chapter are the following: "President Roosevelt has staked his political future and that of his party upon the success of a recovery programme which was to bring order out of chaos and place the economic activities of the nation on new and solid foundations. The aim, now that the programme has been unfolded, is seen to be the reorganization of our society on collectivist lines, with the federal government as the central source of authority and Federal power the directing and compelling force. The fruits of the programme (to the end of 1933) have been some artificial stimulation of business and industry, some artificial relief for the farmers, and some artificial mitigation of unemployment and personal suffering, but in their pursuit the administration has become a dictatorship, the public debt has been swollen to unprecedented peace-time proportions, the gold standard as it had existed for ninety years has been abandoned, and the dollar has been left to find its level in the shifting sands of commodity prices. There is no dictionary which defines 'recovery' in such terms."

This useful book should be followed by one which undertakes to show that our people may be led to see that the revolutionary departures which have been made for citizens to agree to give any programme frank and rational attention when the failure of collectivist and state socialist policies, so far adopted by Mr. Roosevelt, make it necessary to turn back if possible to original United States ideas of human association in conditions of freedom and equal opportunity. It may yet be seen that the source of prosperity is human labor when applied without hindrance to natural resources, the fundamental condition being that there must be a natural division of labor products. A natural and ethical division is demonstrable. There must be the full share of workers and the managers which they really employ. There must be a return to the owners of wealth (labor products) used to aid production, such return covering both replacement and the market rate of interest which may from time to time arrange itself without legislative attention. There also will be a surplus to which neither labor nor "capital" are entitled—the item of "economic rent," or annual rent of land. This surplus is properly a concern of the whole social aggregate, and can be ethically used for public purposes after being gathered with that expectation in mind. An end can be made of codes and price-fixing, of subsidies and processing taxes, of rules for methods of labor organization and the fixing of minimum or any other kind of wages.

Thirty-five or more years ago Henry George, who is entitled to be considered as absolutely unique in his equipment and methods of economic analysis and scientific explication, was subsidized and set apart for the very purpose of laying the foundation of a just social order, and his book, only partly unfinished, is available in any quantities or which a demand is created. Free from financial embarrassment by reason of the financial assistance of two business men, he gave his best to the world, and it is high time right now that American citizens, with or without the hearty co-operation of President Roosevelt, should

begin another economic research, to start where George left off in his search for truth to be developed by a scientific examination of the natural laws which are concerned with the distribution of good things—with abundance and not scarcity—with leisure and a chance to enjoy it without fear or favor, and without dread of want or lack of gainful employment.—GEORGE WHITE.

\*The Menace of Recovery. By William MacDonald; cloth, 400 pp. Price \$1.75. The MacMillan Company, N. Y. City.

### DOLLARS AND SENSE

This book is a practical questionnaire with answers covering the realm of finance including debts, monetary standards, inflations, currencies, etc. It deals with economics as an underlying base of all finance and business. It puts in simple terms technical financial language so that anyone who is interested may understand.

The author displays not only a clear detailed knowledge of economics and finance but a broad knowledge of their applications. If this book is read carefully and the information digested the reader will have an excellent background for a keen appreciation of current financial events and policies.

Examples of this series of questions (and answers) taken at random are: What is money? What is the purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act? What is its Constitutional base?—its provisions?—its weakness? Other questions are what are bank deposits, ear-marked gold, call loans, stocks and bonds?

Separate chapters in questionnaire form, are devoted to simplifying inflation, guarantee of bank deposits, public works, devaluation of the gold dollar, and the public debt.

The last few chapters are especially illuminating, dealing, as they do, with such intricate subjects as taxes, taxation, the tariff wall, etc. The followers of the philosophy of Henry George might find some minor points debatable but otherwise thoroughly approve the book and its integrity of purpose.

In considering the problem of taxation the author is vivid, stressing the power of taxation for weal or woe. He is very clear in stating that certain taxes may be shifted, enriching some at the expense of others, and in emphasizing the "Single Tax" cannot be shifted, he voices a vital truth.

Also one finds varied brief explanations of different tax systems and social movements, their strength and weakness. It is evident that the author makes no attempt to give a complete picture as his personal appraisals of these are sometimes contradictory.

In recommending this book we note some deficiencies and ignore some important lapses, but in most respects and as a whole we believe it to be the best book of its kind as yet brought to our attention.

The sentiment expressed is one of the concluding paragraphs which we quote in part should appeal to all:

"Our descendants will look back upon this day of starvation wages, long hours, child labor, ruthless competition, bulging quarries and hungry men with the same incredulity that comes over us as we look back upon the unrestrained violence and cruelty of the Middle Ages."

C. H. KENDAL.

\*Dollars and Sense. 172 pp., cloth. Price \$1.75. John Day, Inc., N. Y. City.

## Correspondence

RATS!

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

We read of efforts by government to reduce surpluses. We are paying farmers to refrain from raising wheat or cotton or hogs. We are paying others to plow under every third row of cotton, and the end is not yet.

Surpluses are just beginning. I would plead for consideration of a plan I am about to disclose. It seems very strange that the monu-

mental brains among the "brain trust" should have overlooked the simple plan I propose. My recommendations are as follows:

A. Pass a law raising the tax on rat poison and rat traps.  
B. Use half of this return to establish rat-propagating and after there were enough rats so that a continuous supply were assured the surplus rats could be released.

C. Have one section of the law arranged so as to make it a criminal offense to kill any rats.

D. Another feature of the law should provide for the taxing of cats or rat-terrier dogs.

Now it is well known that rats are able to eat up a great amount of food. They are not at all particular as to what they eat, whether meat, grain or other food products. We would be able to save paying on a "processing tax" and we would not need to go to the trouble of killing young pigs. In fact if rats were encouraged to do their part in keeping down the surpluses many of the ills we now have would disappear.

Of course, it is no use trying to argue that if people could get access to land through a land value tax we would be in a position to do away with poverty and thereby increase consumption and in this way take care of any surplus. Such a simple plan is not fantastic enough to appeal to the "brain trust" but there is no doubt that my plan of taking care of the surplus by increasing the rat population to develop would appeal to them.

I have no patent on this idea and offer it freely.

Minneapolis, Minn.

WALTER MUNSCH.

#### VILLAGE OF MILK RIVER, ALTA, CAN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

|        |                      |                |                   |   |               |   |   |   |     |
|--------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|---|---------------|---|---|---|-----|
|        | Population estimated |                |                   |   | -             | - | - | - | 460 |
| No. of | -                    | -              | -                 | - | title holders | - | - | - | 93  |
| "      | "                    | non resident   |                   |   | "             | " |   |   | 36  |
| "      | "                    | Voting         | "                 |   | "             | " |   |   | 57  |
| "      | "                    | Population not |                   |   | "             | " |   |   | 403 |
| "      | "                    | Voters total   |                   | - | -             | - | - | - | 150 |
| "      | "                    | "              | Title holders     |   | -             | - | - | - | 57  |
| "      | "                    | "              | Not title holders |   | -             | - | - | - | 93  |

460 Population creates Milk River land values.

150 Voters decide how it will be distributed.

57 Residents will benefit and—

36 Non residents will benefit if land value is not taxed.

403 of the population will be defrauded if land value is free from taxation.

Do we believe in justice or in allowing a special privilege for some to rob others to continue. Think it over.

The land owners of the U. S. rob the population of the U. S. to the tune of \$14,000,000,000 every year.

If the Single Tax was not in operation in Milk River the land owners here would rob the whole people of \$3,500 every year. We have an assessed value of \$70,000 and a 50 mill rate.

Milk River.

FRED PEASE.

#### WHY DOES THE MOVEMENT LAG?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As you will know I have been a subscriber to the Single Tax Review and its successor, LAND AND FREEDOM, for about twenty-five years. Longer ago than that I became a convert to the Henry George philosophy. As a young man I was more energetic and tried at times at least to help the cause. I wish I was physically and financially able to help more now.

However the immediate thing that I have in mind is that a highly

educated friend of mine says that if the Single Tax contained a sound economic philosophy which would apply to our present delima, the great professors of political economy in our colleges and universities would accept it and proclaim it.

I have tried to answer him but he does not seem to accept my reason.

Fremont, Neb.

J. TILTON YOUNG.

#### REPLY

There are many truths in the world that have waited long for their acceptance. Some of them are moral truths, some spiritual, some economic. For the failure of their accomplishment there are many answers, ignorance, inertia, selfishness and what not.

Machiavelli divided men into three classes, the first (and they are very few in number) who discover great truths and announce them. Then there is the second group who are able to perceive truth when announced—and these too are few in number. Then there is the mass of mankind who remain wholly unable to comprehend—and these are overwhelmingly the largest in number.

Now if we accept this classification, and we may do so with perhaps some qualification, this truth remains. The mass of mankind are sound enough at heart to discern if dimly, a principle that is just. So the second group in Machiavelli's classification wield an influence over the third group—the great majority of mankind—who are intellectually disqualified, but who follow the leadership of those who speak with authority. Slowly but finally even they are influenced and a great truth if sufficiently reiterated is accepted and takes on the character of an echo.

That the third group will not see or are incapable of seeing the whole truth accounts for the slow and piece-meal acceptance of great reforms. When such a change as Henry George proposed is up for consideration it encounters all the opposition that is included in inertia, ignorance, distortion, fear, selfishness and greed. Its slow progress is not slow if we take all the obstacles into consideration; it will only appear slow to those who are righteously impatient.

Here is a note of hopefulness for our friends. We seem to be living in a time when the principle for which we contend is on the verge of a signal triumph. The last thing—a planned economy—that being tried out in Washington exhausts the series of inventions that are introduced as substitutes for justice. Dove has told us in his "Theory of Human Progression" (1850) that mankind will try everything before they accept our remedy. The Roosevelt program may be regarded as the last redoubt to which the enemy has retreated. For however well intentioned the N. R. A. may be, it must be regarded as the last formal surrender of all previous methods of warfare against poverty, as well as a gesture of hopelessness that nothing else is possible. Its failure therefore—and it must fail—will result in making more visible what are now but the shadowy outlines of the problem and clear the way for the triumphant advance of the friends of liberty. Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

#### RENT, INTEREST AND MORTGAGES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Upon what percentage basis is the economic rent calculated present? At 5% or 6% or? Please give several concrete examples from actual cases, if possible.

Will this rate still prevail under the Single Tax? If not, what will be the percentage?

What is the prevailing house interest?

How would you classify mortgages (1) on land (2) on real estate? Would you classify the returns as interest, or rent, or profits of monopoly? The Schenley Estate, for instance, holds a million dollars worth of mortgages. I contend that in such cases, the "interest" on mortgages is really "rent," or at least profits of monopoly? What do you think?

Knowing that few persons have a more comprehensive grasp

George's economics than you have I confidently expect that your answers will clarify these important problems.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

REPLY

In New York City the rent of land amounts to approximately  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the capital value of land.

On a land assessment of about nine billions in 1932 the city collected out 225 millions. Taking 5% as the minimum of capitalization the nine billions of land value indicates that not less than 450 millions of land rent remained in the possession of land owners; and 225 millions, is 450 millions equals 675 millions which is  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  on 9 billions.

Under the Single Tax the rate of interest will be between 3 and 5%, and this will be accompanied by wages several times what they were under our, so called, prosperous conditions.

The net interest that has been earned on houses only (rent excluded) is not over 5% and is no where near that now.

Under the Single Tax there would be no mortgages on land. Mortgages would be against buildings and improvements only. The return on such mortgages held by the Schenley Estate are no doubt against land and improvements and so their return includes both rent and interest.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED ANYWHERE.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In arguing with an opponent recently he said, "They tried Single Tax in New Zealand and it was a failure."

How would you reply to that? Answer in next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Youngstown, Ohio.

JOHN F. CONROY.

REPLY

The Single Tax was not tried in New Zealand. Several cities and mining communities in New Zealand have placed a tax on land up to a penny in the Pound Sterling on its assessed, or capital, value. There are 480 pence in the pound, so that a penny represents less than 1%. The Single Tax would have collected a minimum of more than twenty times that amount.

The Single Tax aims at the collection of the full rent of land (not less than 5% of its capital value) and the abolition of all other taxes. In New Zealand they tax every conceivable thing that man produces, they tax all human effort, thrift, and talent.

The "Single Tax" has not been tried in New Zealand nor anywhere else.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

HAS FAITH IN THE N. R. A.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As an old Single Taxer I am disturbed over the attitude of LAND AND FREEDOM toward the Roosevelt administration, especially the National Recovery Act. Evidently you see nothing to commend in the policies pursued at Washington, either in the emergency measures adopted or in those which must be regarded as permanent and founded on sound principles and would have been accepted as such by Henry George himself. In the latter category I refer to the Roosevelt effort to bring great natural resources under public control or ownership, such as Muscle Shoals, now comprehending the entire Tennessee Valley; St. Lawrence river water power; Columbia river water power and that great enterprise known as Boulder Dam. No governor nor president has taken the courageous stand on these four tremendous far-reaching sources of power and wealth as has President Roosevelt. He deserves the gratitude of every follower of Henry George for what he has already initiated in that line and is valiantly striving to force through to a successful end. In essence they exemplify the appropriation of the unearned increment for public purposes, and the creation of a source of wealth from monopoly. Surely all Single Taxers believe in that programme even if it be only a step toward the desired goal.

As for some of the other things to which the Roosevelt administration seems to be committed, such as the cutting down of the supply of grain and live stock, I think we should understand that they are temporary plans to meet a present and urgent economic necessity. They act as a corrective of overproduction and bring about better prices for the farmer who, as you well know, has been suffering for years from unprofitable prices for what he raises. The plan is clearly one to meet an emergency. So are many of the strictures being applied to manufacturing industries through codes. They do not fit into what we are accustomed to understand as a free democracy, I know, but they are methods devised to make clearer the fundamental needs of the times.

Of course you are aware that the Single Tax philosophy cannot be gained in a single stride or in many advances but must come by indirection, as have most of the revolutionary changes come in the long past. Franklin Roosevelt, it should be conceded, is not only the most progressive but the most sympathetic president with the truly democratic aspirations of the people we have ever had in Washington. Why should we not go along with him? Why so rigidly attempt to adhere to the letter which killeth and ignore the spirit that giveth life?

Albany, N. Y.

JAMES MALCOLM.

REPLY

We do not doubt that James Malcolm is a sincere Single Taxer. He has been an efficient teacher of our philosophy for many years. But what do we mean by the term anyway? The so-called Single Tax is a proposal to get rid of all taxes and take economic rent for public purposes. The administration has invented a few new taxes and has retained nearly all of those that it found already existing. We refer to the so-called processing taxes, which have been added. And are we so doubtful of our doctrine that we should feel called upon to emphasize the importance of going slowly as if we feared the consequences of a great reform that we insist will accomplish so wonderful a change?

If anything, the letter of Mr. Malcolm shows the necessity of going much faster and demanding the *immediate* restoration of the land to the people. We are in danger of losing our grip on the fundamental philosophy of Henry George. And an indestructible part of that philosophy is its democracy which cannot be reconciled with

- a. Codes regulating wages and prices.
- b. Threats of economic death (that is starvation) for those guilty of the violation of these codes.
- c. Destruction of crops to equalize prices. (Whether this be temporary or permanent.
- d. Government regulation of private industry.
- e. Subsidies for those withdrawing land from use.
- f. Purchase of marginal land.
- g. Destruction of little pigs.
- h. Transfer of governmental powers from the legislative to the executive branch of government, thus preparing the way for the abandonment of our democracy for a thinly disguised dictatorship.

And then we are asked to believe that Henry George would have sanctioned this monstrous programme! Henry George believed in the natural order. His teaching entailed a philosophy of social reconstruction in which by establishing man's true relation to the earth we might rebuild a free society. Nearly everything that Roosevelt and his administration have done would have been anathema to him.

The temptation to say nice things of the occupant of the White House and his amiable intentions should not blind us to the changing character of our institutions which is being insidiously brought about. If we want socialism, restriction, regulation let us turn to Franklin Roosevelt; it is the saddest kind of a joke to ask us to accept him at the hands of a party bearing the name of democracy and Thomas Jefferson.

We did not dream that it would ever be necessary to argue this way with a Henry George man. We trust our correspondent will not be

angry with us when we say that to accept these strange Roosevelt nostrums is to repudiate nearly every tenet in the George philosophy,  
—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

### TENANT FARMERS IN TEXAS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The 1910 Census gave Texas 219,575 tenant farmers!

The 1920 Census gave Texas 232,309 tenant farmers!!

The 1930 Census gave Texas 301,660 tenant farmers!!!

What the next census will show I am afraid to think. And how easily all this might be changed by amending tax laws to make the speculator pay as much for holding land idle as others pay for using—just as hotels do with out-all-night customers. This would eliminate the speculator and give every man a chance to get under his own vine and fig tree—which must have been what the Lord intended when He made land so plentiful.

For fifty years we have been trying to find a more appropriate name for our movement than Single Tax, but aside from the C. L. P. group, nothing yet has been found that fits the requirements. Our movement naturally divides into two branches—the heavy artillery so ably represented by Mr. Graham Peace in England, and the light infantry which still holds to the "Single Tax." Both branches are necessary in any great movement, and this division shows progress. But the name Single Tax has been found to be a drawback because it suggests tax reform instead of land reform—our main object. Since it seems impossible to get rid of the name entirely,—being "blown in the bottle" as it were,—let me suggest that whenever the name is used an interrogation mark be placed after it to indicate a misnomer, thus: "The Single Tax (?)." The use of this little interrogation point will do much to awaken the curiosity of the unconverted and give us a chance to blow our horn.

Houston, Tex.

P. W. SCHWANDER

### AN INTERESTING ANALOGY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A remembrance of the Congress: Some seemed stumped by the proposition that the land value tax may so cheapen land that the rental value will shrink and amount to little, thereby leaving the community without sufficient revenue. Let him who doubts take thought that when the wife (or whoever it is that keeps the flower garden) wishes to enjoy an abundance of blossoms from her sweetpea or aster bed, or whatever flowers she cultivates, she keeps cutting the blossoms as fast as they come into full bloom, and the plants favor her with a long continuous wealth of flowers to grace her home. Should she let them go to seed her plants are soon worn out and barren of blooms.

Alma, Wis.

THEODORE BUEHLER, JR.

### THINKS HE MAY BE HERETICAL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

At the risk of being regarded as heretical by my Single Tax friends I am writing the following for such comment and criticism as it may provoke.

I have come to believe in the possibilities of reaching the Single Tax by way of the income tax. At times I have felt that this would prove the easiest approach.

1. A tax on incomes with earned incomes exempt would be the Single Tax. In the final analysis land and labor are the factors of production and rent and wages the categories of distribution. Unearned income and rent are the same.

2. Among people generally an income tax is at least fairly popular.

3. The same may be said of the exemption of earned incomes.

4. The ethical question is involved in the words, earned and unearned. In this form it is easily grasped by the masses. In the end we shall win through the ethics rather than the science of our philosophy.

5. It may bring to us political co-operation on the part of those who believe that unearned incomes include more than land rent.

6. It will force to the front the distinction between earned and unearned incomes. More than that, it will make it decidedly to the pecuniary interest of the entrepreneur to show how little of his income is unearned with pecuniary interest and ethics both urging him on, the entrepreneur may turn out to be a clear thinker. We have never yet had personal interest urging a considerable group of able men to starve for the Single Tax.

7. It would work beautifully in the case of 99 year leases of land in the center of our great cities. These usually contain a clause providing that the tenant shall pay the taxes on the land. A tax on incomes would not come under this clause.

8. The real problem is one of distribution, not of production. To the scientific mind the just distribution of wealth grows out of the way in which wealth must be produced; but to the ordinary mind the introduction of production into the argument brings only confusion. The ordinary mind will grasp the fact that there is a distinction between earned wealth and unearned wealth; but will fall down realizing that it is the distinction between wages and land rent. It is good teaching to attack the problem through the distribution of wealth rather than through the production of wealth.

Chicago, Ill.

H. B. LOOMIS.

### JUST MIXED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The writer, some time ago, was assigned to interview a prominent attorney, son of a former United States Senator, and himself a director in one of the largest financial institutions in the country, on the political situation.

He began by saying that the cause of our political troubles was due to universal suffrage, and illustrated it by adding, "While I always vote the Republican ticket as the party best able to govern, my driver who has been in my employ for thirty years and whom I support, votes the Socialist ticket, thereby cancelling my vote, not realizing that men in business and finances know much better what is good for the masses than they know themselves."

"I well remember the first time Henry George came over here from England to lecture on Socialism. I always believed that he was sent here by the English Socialist Party to conduct a propaganda in the country. I went to Cooper Union," the attorney continued, "to hear Mr. George. While I did not agree with him he made an excellent speech. His English was superb and clear so that no one could misunderstand what he meant. A real orator! He made the usual attack on capital and private property, holding that all property should be taken by the Government and divided among the people."

"After his lecture a number of those who believed as he did held a conference and suggested to Mr. George that the best way to reach the people would be to print a newspaper. Mr. George replied: 'I have no money to start a paper with.' His advisers then agreed that they would raise the necessary money and later a paper was published in the interest of Socialism."

"Almost from the beginning the paper was a financial success and Mr. George began to make money. Then he was unwilling to divide with those who had little."

"Realizing what a false position he was placed in, he abandoned preaching Socialism and having a hobby for something he began to preach the Single Tax, placing all taxes on land."

"I suppose that when Mr. George got hold of some land," said the attorney, "he would want to collect taxes from something else."

It is amazing how one of the best minds knows so much about many things that are not so.

N. Y. City.

OLD NEWSPAPER REPORTER.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT

In order to appreciate the humor of this, it may be well to say that there is but one accurate statement in all this bunch of inaccuracies. That is the one fact that Mr. George did start a paper. But he never

ade any money out of it. He did not come from England, for he was born in Philadelphia; he never taught that all property should be taken by government and divided among the people; he was not a Socialist of that kind (who by the way is an utterly unknown species of Socialist anyhow) nor of any other kind; his paper was not published in the interests of Socialism; he never made a financial success of anything, for he did not look for that kind of success. Otherwise, the statement of the gentleman, or what remains of it, is accurate. Mr. George once edited a paper, which is the sole lonesome fact in this list of things that are not so.—EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM.

#### PRAISE FROM SIR HUBERT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

You may quote me, if you like, in warmest commendation of the educational value of the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. Aside from the usual cogent editorial observations upon the blind and dangerous political trends at the Nation's Capital, the feature articles by Raymond McNally and J. Edward Jones are particularly notable. Cocoa, Fla.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

#### NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THE Lethbridge, Alberta, *Herald*, comments editorially on the attendance at the Henry George Congress in Chicago of twelve Single Taxers from the town of Milk River, Alberta, and says: "Parties may have policies and plans and change them, but with the Single Tax as far as Milk River is concerned, it is a permanency and must prevail the world if it is to be a happier place to live in than it is now. We admire them even though we are dubious about some of the claims put forward by them, for their faith and stick-to-it-iveness."

ARVIN R. MATTESON, of Rochester, N. Y., renewing his subscriptions, writes: "Such teachings as are found in LAND AND FREEDOM may help direct the people into wider avenues of freedom and justice."

FRED PEASE writes us from Milk River, Alta, Canada: "The Henry George Congress at Chicago was a wonderful experience for the boys. Meet all Georgists in New York for us. The boys all wish to be remembered to Miss Schetter and dear Mrs. de Mille, with whom we fell in love \* \* \*. Our Premier Mr. Brownlee has appointed a tax commission to inquire into the incidence of taxation and the public is to be allowed to present their views to that august body. The Milk River Single Taxers will not neglect this opportunity. Some of the men appointed are favorable to our plans and may be able to do something for us. We are asked to submit a paper for consideration."

MAYOR MCNAIR of Pittsburgh spoke recently in Cleveland, O., at the City Club, and he created a very favorable impression. His answers to questions were made with his usual readiness.

CHARLES R. EAMES reports from Elgin, Ill., that after the address by Hon. Francis Neilson at the forum last Autumn the local bookseller sold an unusual number of copies of "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Eames suggests a name for a Single Tax paper which is at least novel—"The Site Draft."

THE *Press Scimitar* of Memphis, Tenn., makes use of the Henry George Congress address by our friend Hon. Abe D. Waldauer as reported in LAND AND FREEDOM, and accompanies the article with a brief biographical sketch and portrait of the brilliant young leader of the enclavial movement.

AN old subscriber from England writes us: "I had come to the verge of an unwilling decision that LAND AND FREEDOM was one of the things

that must be cut out in these hard times but the excellence of the last three issues has made that impossible."

THE *Churchman* for February contains a report of the activities of the Schalkenbach Foundation signed by the secretary of the Foundation, Miss Antoinette Kaufmann.

"FOR those who desire a right social order and for those that see how we can attain it, LAND AND FREEDOM is a great feast for its readers. It gives the collective thought of our movement," writes E. H. Boeck, of St. Louis.

OUR readers will be interested in the recent itinerary of Clayton J. Ewing. On Jan. 20 he had a fine visit with our friend James P. Kohler, at Coral Gables, Fla. On Jan. 23 he addressed a gathering of Quaker farmers near Fairhope and on the morning of the 24th, he spoke at the Organic School in Fairhope, being introduced by Mrs. Marietta Johnson. On the evening of the same day he spoke in New Orleans at the Carrollton M. E. Church, his subject being the "Economics of the New Testament." This meeting was arranged by W. E. Clement. On the evening of Jan. 25 he addressed a meeting of the Round Table Club in New Orleans. This meeting was arranged by Henry Garic. Mr. Ewing spoke for fifty minutes, his subject being "Can Business and Industry be Relieved of Confiscatory Taxation?" On Jan. 27 he visited our friends in Memphis, Hon. Abe D. Waldauer, Judge Pittman and General Taylor. This is rather a busy record even for Brother Ewing.

CAPTAIN ARMISTED RUST (U. S. N. Retired) Single Taxer and long a subscriber to this paper, was for many years superintendent of the Massachusetts Nautical School and captain of the school ship Nantucket.

WEST VANCOUVER, B. C., in which town there is no tax on improvements, had a cash balance in its treasury at the end of the fiscal year of \$3,472 and had retired \$40,000 of its bonds.

R. B. WILSON, of Emmett, Ida., is teaching political economy in the high school building and last spring taught a class near Eagle, Ida. His nine lessons of two hours each brought more than twenty-four to embrace the remedy; they organized an Economics Club and have been bombarding Congressmen and Senators with resolutions unanimously acted upon.

CHARLES LEBARON GOELLER, of Endwell, N. Y., is printing at surprisingly low cost, tracts and leaflets on the Single Tax and last year sent out over 50,000 of these. This year he hopes to double the number.

EDWIN J. JONES, of Westfield, N. J. writes us in the following hopeful strain:

"I have been a Single Taxer just short of 50 years. Have never been swerved from my rock-ribbed beliefs in the doctrines of Henry George to any other ism. At times it seems as though sincere believers must be discouraged and disheartened at the seeming slow progress of our movement. That is more apparent than real. I feel. I shall probably not live to see it, but I believe sincerely that within ten years the doctrines of Henry George will be seriously considered in National and State politics."

THE *Canadian Unionist* for January continues the series of papers on Canada's Natural Resources by A. C. Campbell. In this issue he treats of the Dominion Fisheries. These articles are admirably written and are of great historical significance.

WE are glad to hail the advent of a new Single Tax paper from Atlanta, Ga., *Chamber's Weekly*, which also covers the news of Atlanta.

It is a large paper with a lot of editorial matter along our lines. In another column will be found an extract from one of its editorials.

IN Northern Niageria, now the Northern Provinces, urban and rural land is let on permits of indefinite terms. There is no litigation to secure such titles and the people live in increasing comfort as shown by production returns. Land rent alone is taxed and there is no need of other taxes. This is from the report of Ormsby-Gore, conservative under secretary for the colonies.

LUCIUS GARVIN, 26 years old, the son of the late Lucius F. C. Garvin, has been reappointed to the position in the philosophy department of Indiana University (Bloomington, Ind.), for the second semester. At the Christmas conference, he was elected an active member of the American Philosophical Association, and his thesis, "Are Particulars Constitutents of Propositions?" appeared in their publication, *The Monist*. Dr. and Mrs. Garvin are living at 611 So. Fess Ave., Bloomington, Ind.

DR. GERTRUDE E. KELLY, whose death is announced, a leader for many years in the fight for Irish freedom and one of the earliest woman physicians, was also active in the eighties in support of Henry George and Dr. McGlynn. She was born near Waterford, Ireland. Eminent as a physician and professor of surgery she was given a dinner in 1929 at which over 500 representatives of law, medicine, social service and woman suffrage sat down. Hers was a long and useful life.

WE quote from a letter to Harry C. Maguire by J. R. Firth, mayor of Strathfield, New South Wales in 1916, 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1932. Alderman Firth writes: "When you state that Sydney raises all its local taxation from land values, that applies not only to the city of Sydney but to all the surrounding Metropolitan Municipal areas. It is also true that any suggestion to go back to the old system of taxing buildings would not even be calmly discussed in this city. Public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of what we call rating on unimproved land value which has been in operation in this city for eighteen years.

"As to the effect of the abolition of taxation on buildings. While in the very oldest portions of the city there are some small districts which we call slum areas, by comparison to the balance of the Metropolitan area they would not be looked upon as slum areas anywhere else in the world.

"In Sydney we are taking 33⅓ per cent of the assessed ground rent, which is equivalent to 25 per cent of the Annual Unimproved Value."

DR. E. A. COPELAND, of Jackson, Miss., who has announced his candidacy for governor of the State on a Single Tax ticket, has with some of his associates opened up a Single Tax headquarters in Jackson. He writes: "We are converting the people every day. If we can get the necessary information to them at this psychologic time, it will mean victory."

THE Wilmington (Del.) *News* publishes several "love letters" from distinguished people and among them is one from Henry George to Mrs. George after 23 years of married life.

The Commonwealth Land Party of Australia have sent forth a number of telling pamphlets. One is "A New Thought in Politics" and another "A Demand for Justice." The C.L.P. of Australia has headquarters in Victoria. C. J. Crowe is president and V. Spinks secretary.

MRS. C. A. SUTHERLAND, daughter of our old friend Alexander Hamilton, of Victoria, Canada, writes: "I like your reply to a letter

about natural rights in Jan-Feb. number. All Single Taxers are proud of LAND AND FREEDOM. What a fine work you are doing."

WANTED at this office: Copies, one or more, of the *Authocrat* State, copies, one or more, of *Captain Jinks*, and the *Earth for All* Cendar, by Ernest Howard Crosby, and copy of the *Japanese Notice of Political Economy*, by James Love.

JUDGE A. B. PITTMAN made an address recently before a lunch club in Memphis and compared landlordism to "kitty pinching" a poker game. The *Memphis Appeal* sent a young lady to report a speech who had no knowledge of landlordism or poker, and Judge Pittman was reported the next day to have labelled Capitalists "kitty pinchers." This report was published through the *Associated Press* and found its way to the press of this city. No Single Taxer who read the report is likely to be deceived, but others may be who do not know Judge Pittman. The *Memphis Appeal* published a retraction the next day, but this denial did not receive the same publicity.

A. C. CAMPBELL, of Ottawa, Canada, writes: "I do not know if it may be with others but I can speak for myself that such work as yours, the running of a medium that keeps us in constant touch with the spirit of the movement, is a work that is helpful to every one of us. Long may you be inspired to keep on."

MRS. AMALIA E. DuBOIS, sister of our friend F. C. Leubuscher writes: "I enjoyed the last issue of your magazine, especially the editorials and the article by Raymond V. McNally on "The Price Complex."

HAROLD SUDELL writes from Brookline, Pa.: "You are getting a fine magazine. Mr. Pollack, head of the Manufacturers Appropriation Company and an old newspaper man, recently commented on its excellence."

A GOOD review of Dr. Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" appears in *Social Service* from Eugene M. Kayden.

GILBERT SELDES, columnist of the *New York Journal*, in a notice of a book by Prof. Tugwell, says: "It is nothing against Messrs. Tugwell and Hill that the best thing in the book is a quotation from Henry George."

THE Johnstown, (Pa.) *Democrat* of Feb. 16 reproduces lengthy extracts from LAND AND FREEDOM.

THE *Cotemporary Review* of recent date has an article on Land Value Taxation by James F. Muirhead. Mention is made of the "mental" work by Prof. George R. Geiger.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY, of Tacoma, Wash., asks us to watch and keep in touch with Congressman Knute Hill from that State as an avowed Henry George man.

CONGRESSMAN GOLDSBOROUGH quoted from Henry George speech appearing in the *Congressional Record* of March 3.

S. EDWARD WILLIAMS is speaking nightly before labor bodies in California in advocacy of the Ralston amendment.

PROF. JAMES HARDY DILLARD writes us: "The mills of the

and slowly but we must hold the faith that they *do* grind. My congratulations on the paper and your constantly excellent issues."

WALTER J. TRINER, of Caldwell, N. J. has been elected School Commissioner, after an exciting canvass. His vote was larger than that of any of the candidates, so evidently his well known Single Tax convictions did not militate against him.

KARL B. MICKY, whose admirable letter in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* appears on another page, writes to W. A. Cronenberger of that city as follows:

"I have never been active in the Single Tax movement. I became a believer in the fiscal policies of Henry George before I ever met a Single Taxer. Shortly after the war, attracted by the alliteration of the title, I read "Progress and Poverty." Upon concluding the book I was annoyed because I had failed to find the "catch" in it and so I read the book from cover to cover the second time. The second reading convinced me."

To which Mr. Cronenberger adds: "There are many more like him and it's too bad. They miss the catch and so do not try again."

Too lengthy to reproduce but admirable in every respect is a two column article in the *Catholic Columbian* of Columbus, O., on Henry George. Its author is Dr. John K. Stanislaus, and the doctor promises after a review of "The Philosophy of Henry George" by "the brilliant young American philosopher, Dr. George Raymond Geiger."

COL. W. E. EASTERWOOD, JR., is quoted in the *Houston Post*. "The economic problem of all the ages, greater than free commerce, easy money and all the rest is how to secure a free distribution of the land. To try to cover it up as we may the fact remains that whoever owns the land controls the country."

W. C. GOOD, former Canadian M. P., expounded the philosophy of Henry George in Toronto early in March. He is reported to have said: "His argument for socializing the economic rent is now endorsed by all economists and practically all schools of social reformers, though there are differences of opinion as to how the principle should be applied."

We do not suppose that any follower of Henry George will be deceived by the efforts of the newspapers in Pittsburgh to discredit Mayor McNair. It appears to be a settled policy of privilege and their journalistic organs to belittle and misrepresent the Chief Executive of the city. Mr. McNair goes about his business undisturbed.

We acknowledge receipt of two admirable pamphlets published by the Henry George Foundation from Pittsburgh and written by Ernest O. Kooser, of Somerset, Pa. One is entitled "Trade and State," and the other, "The Use of Force."

GEORGE E. EVANS, President of the Henry George Foundation, has been appointed Superintendent of the Bureau of Building Inspection, under the new administration of the City of Pittsburgh. Mr. Evans is very deeply interested in the housing problem and has accepted this position with a view to making some real contribution toward the solution of this problem. Having been engaged in the building business for a number of years, this is a function of the city government with which he is thoroughly familiar. The new Superintendent is taking prompt steps to deal with slum conditions and has also been sponsoring a programme of home building for which federal aid has been solicited.

RALPH E. SMITH, who was originally appointed by Mayor McNair as Magistrate of the Morals Court, has since been named Director of Public Safety and has taken over the conduct of this very important branch of the municipal government.

As we go to press the executive committee of the Henry George Foundation has under serious consideration the choice of a convention city for the Henry George Congress for 1934 but had not yet reached a final decision, the choice apparently involving the respective claims of Toronto, Washington and Chicago. An announcement will be made at a very early date as it is planned to hold the regular annual convention either in September or early in October, depending upon the location.

W. P. HALLENKAMP, of Columbus, O., writes us:

"You, your readers and Single Taxers generally ought to be told of the passing of A. A. (Arch) Maclean at Columbus, O., on Feb. 10, 1934, at the age of 44; for the movement, because of his passing, has suffered more than an ordinary loss.

"His was a mind that encompassed one of the most comprehensive and clearest understandings of the fundamentals of Single Tax it has been my good fortune to encounter, among the many Single Taxers whom I have met; and I doubt if there are any who could excel him in the conciseness and conviction in explanation of its principles. I don't know that Arch ever delivered a lecture, spoke from any platform, or wrote any treatise, on Single Tax; his work did not lie in that direction, and yet I am sure he accomplished as much good for the cause through the engaging facility he possessed for discussing it in conversations and on personal contacts. His converts are many—won to the cause by the magnetising sincerity of his individual effort and convinced by the clearness and logic of his explanations. The loss of such a one indeed is a real loss.

"Arch was a true son of his father, John S. Maclean, who learned his first Single Tax lessons from the lips of Henry George, himself, and who now survives to mourn the passing of Arch with a father's heartbreaking sense of bereavement increased by a sense of loss to the cause he, too, has served faithfully and well. Besides his father, a widow, four children, a brother, two sisters, and a host of friends survive, all of whom are undoubtedly the better for having known Arch Maclean."

THE Canadian papers announce the death of Thomas Mower Martin at the age of 95. Mr. Mower was known as the father of Canadian art. He was represented in the National Gallery at Buckingham Palace and had also exhibited in New York. He lived in Toronto at 115 Erskine Avenue. He was a subscriber of LAND AND FREEDOM and was presumably a Single Taxer. We know nothing of his activities along our lines, but that he was interested is evident.

PETITIONS are being circulated by Democrats in Pittsburgh to enter Mayor McNair in the race for governor in the Spring primaries. "It is all right with me," was Mayor McNair's characteristic comment.

A FINE article by Prof. Broadus Mitchell appears in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of Feb. 28. It is entitled "Sweat vs. Steam." Prof. Mitchell concludes: "The problem clears completely if we perceive that we are to benefit by embracing our mechanical achievements, not by retreating into the Middle Ages, not by becoming machine-smashing Luddities."

BILLS looking in the direction of our principles are before the legislatures of both Massachusetts and Washington.

DONALD MACDONALD, of Anchorage, Alaska, whose "News From Alaska" appears on another page, carried every ward in 1912 in Everett, Wash., for the exemption of personal property and improvements.

OLIVE MAGUIRE writes us from Berkeley, Calif.:

"Isn't the fact that Georgism holds no position of prominence before the public today, a commentary on our past methods of presentation? Every time an election is held, a great school of inquiring students is ready-made for us, yet except in isolated cases we have persistently overlooked the opportunities.

"In our own way, we No Taxers seem to be as foolish as the rest."

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Former Editor of *Mind*, the *Arena*, and  
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Here is a very excellent book of 112 pages presenting in a most interesting and readable form an argument for a real and practical application of the teachings of Christianity, interwoven with a plea for the adoption of the principle of the taxation of land values as being the most essential and fundamental economic remedy for existing social and industrial wrongs.

The author points out the lack of a constructive programme on the part of the religious forces of the world and urges the necessity of having some such programme in order to make Christianity really practical. He then follows through a number of chapters a discussion of some of the weaknesses of modern thought in the religious and economic fields, including a chapter which shows that the democracy has not yet been realized.

The private ownership of natural resources, in the judgment of the writer, constitutes the fundamental and basic wrong in the entire social order. As a result of this error and the failure to make a proper application of scientific and Christian principles, freedom has disappeared, poverty and crime prevail and the nations of the earth are involved in war.—Reviewed by **CARL D. THOMPSON.**

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By

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**LAND AND FREEDOM**

150 Nassau Street

New York City

May — June, 1934

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

Richard Cobden

John M. Moore

## The Law of Similars and The Law of Economics

Royal E. S. Hayes, M. D.

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The Schalkenbach Foundation — The Manhattan Single Tax Club

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Book Reviews — Correspondence

News Notes and Personals

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## MAY—JUNE, 1934

VOL. XXXIV

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

MAY—JUNE, 1934

No. 3

## Comment and Reflection

CHAS. S. PRIZER, a subscriber and well-known Single Taxer of this city gifted with some imagination, writes us as follows: "Your quotation from alleged remarks of Abraham Lincoln on the land question is the most sensational news of the year. I wish to believe that the quotation is authentic but I respectfully ask you to produce proof of its authenticity. Hundreds of biographers have for many years prosecuted an unrelenting and most intensive search for data on Lincoln. How is it that a recorded declaration more important, more fundamental than any other ever made by Lincoln on any economic question has remained so long undiscovered and unknown?"

TO refresh our readers' minds with the memorable words of Abraham Lincoln cited in March-April LAND AND FREEDOM we again quote them:

"The land, the earth God gave to man for his home, sustenance and support, should never be the possession of any man, corporation, or unfriendly government, any more than air or water, if as much."

THEN followed our comment:

Lincoln saw the land question. He would have dealt with it in the big way. To him there was no such thing as property in land any more than in air or water.

He had no doubt of the principle he laid down. Of the method to be pursued he was not so certain. He said: "A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future." He knew the movement would meet with opposition and he knew the kind of opposition it would meet. Very forcibly he says:

"The idle talk of idle men that is so common now, will find its way against it, with whatever force it may possess, and strongly promoted and carried on as it can be by land monopolists, grasping landlords, and the titled and untitled senseless enemies of mankind everywhere." Thus spoke the Prophet-President!

FOR our authority for these statements of Lincoln we are indebted to a work in two volumes by Robert H. Browne, M. D., "Abraham Lincoln and the Men of His Time." For the discovery of this remarkable revelation we are indebted to W. D. Lamb, of Chicago. The work is little known though it is in the Jersey City library of which the brother of the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM, Edmund W. Miller, is librarian.

DR. ROBERT H. BROWNE was born in New York, was an abolitionist associated with Lovejoy and read law with Davis, Lincoln and Gridley at Bloomington, Ill. He was an assistant surgeon in the war of 1861 to its close, and after the war practiced medicine in Kirksville, Mo. He was a member of the Missouri State Senate 1870 to 1874. We do not find a record of the date of his death.

LINCOLN was early employed in Danville and Springfield in helping the settlers in their struggles against the extortions and stealings of the land sharks. His name was a terror to the infamous crew who as soon as a settler filed his claim filed counter claims and compelled the bona fide settlers to yield up a fee to retain their land and thus save litigation. "I respect," said Lincoln, "the man who properly named these villains land sharks. They are like the wretched ghouls who follow a ship and fatten on its offal."

THROUGH this early experience Lincoln was learning the land question. It is to be remarked, too, that he had more than a merely dim perception of the evils of land speculation. Because one cannot be a voluntary beneficiary of an evil institution and maintain the same attitude toward it, he shrank, with a moral instinct that was a part of the genius of the man, from direct participation in it. Offered the opportunity by his friend Gridley, eager to help him, of the purchase of a quarter section of land, which his friend assured him would double in value in a year, Lincoln said:

"I am thankful to you and appreciate what you do for me in so many unselfish ways that no one knows save myself. Nevertheless, I must decline this kind offer of yours, which would no doubt profit me and harm no one directly as I view it. I have no maledictions or criticisms of those who buy, sell and speculate in land, but I do not believe in it, and I feel for myself that I should not do it. If I made the investment it would constantly turn my attention to that kind of business, and so disqualify me from what seems my calling and success in it, and interfere with the public or half-public service, which I neither seek nor avoid."

LINCOLN saw the oppression to which the masses of men were everywhere subjected. That keen brain and tender heart were alive to the sufferings of mankind due to economic injustice. That he would have led

the movement for the restoration of the rights of men to the earth they inhabit, and that he would have brushed aside the subtleties of those who oppose it and gone straight to the heart of the problem, is clear from what he had to say, and from what we know of the statesmanlike courage and the peculiar directness of that keen and penetrating intellect. But the question of chattel slavery lay like a stone in the way. That removed, the monster of land monopoly was to be overthrown. And that there may be no doubt of the keenness of his apprehension of the nature of that struggle, the following words in connection with what we have already quoted furnish conclusive proof:

"On other questions there is ample room for reform when the time comes; but now it would be folly to think we could undertake more than we have on hand. But when slavery is over and settled, men should never rest content while oppression, wrongs and iniquities are in force against them."

IT is pleasant to know that the spirit and mind of Lincoln are of us and with us. He was a man who dealt with elemental things. He saw the land question, saw it clearly; he saw the miseries that come from treating land as unrestrained private property; he would have dealt summarily with the evil institution, and in this he expected to have the opposition of the senseless enemies of mankind everywhere.

IT would be a task ungracious to the memory of Lincoln to point out any shortcomings in his statements on the land question. He was not an economist. Undoubtedly, when he used the word "possession" he used it in the sense of "ownership." His practical mind would readily have seen that any system of land tenure designed to secure the right of man to the land, which he declared was as much a right as that to "air and water," must include at the same time the right of private possession—security of occupancy. This requirement the Single Tax, or the taking of the economic rent for public purposes, insures.

SIXTY-SIX governments are now devoted to economic nationalism—most all, including our own, to experiments within themselves that take no note of the international dependence of these units one upon another. The old doctrine to secure any kind of cooperation between nations is now thrust into the discard. Adam Smith and the old political economy are out-dated. Cobden and John Bright are forgotten. Cordele Hull is the only hopeful note in the administration's mixed chorus worth listening to, and his is a voice crying in the wilderness. All else is chaos.

OUT of the weltering mass of incoherent doctrine in which the common man is the helpless victim of governmental experiment, war looms as a very imminent

probability. National and racial hatreds burn afresh, and are fed by the blundering ignorance of political leaders seeking temporary advantage. The discontented masses who have no rights in the land they inhabit, who are interlopers and intruders on the earth, afford plastic material for the cruel machinations of designing demagogues, whom all governments seem more or less composed. The landless man may live only by sufferance of the earth-owner. He is the helpless victim of every rascally government that seeks to exploit him.

LET us not disguise it. They who own the earth own the men upon it. The man without land is a helpless slave to whoever cracks the whip. No silly laws of regulation, no benevolent intentions though accompanied by kindly smiles and soothing words, are of any use. There is no freedom where men are not free to use the earth. All else is mockery.

AND the way to perfect freedom is to take the economic rent of land and abolish all taxes. How often must this be said? Nature has provided a way. Cavil as we may about natural law, it is a significant manifestation of such law when, as the needs of government arise, a value arises simultaneously to meet them. And in exact proportion to these needs.

NOTE how the real rights of property are involved. Men feel that what they earn is theirs. We would take nothing due to the exertion of labor and capital. But from the exercise of labor and capital a bye-product arises—nature's contribution to the national treasury—land value. That comes ear-marked as a governmental contribution created by government to pay for government. It is so plain that the man who runs can read.

NOR is it an irreverent connotation to link this law with the law of God. "God wills it" may well be the cry of the New Crusade. To see God's hand working in the social arrangements of men is to see his hand in other manifestations. God's in His Heaven and all may be right with the world—if we but follow His Law. With that faith comes the vision of a society in which God's Law shall govern and the progress of man move steadily to its goal—for if there be not design in the universe, if God is not trifling with His creatures, if He is not mocking them with ineffectual dreams, then there is indeed a land of promise for mankind at the end of his long journey.

WHEN Robert Louis Stevenson wrote one of his baby rhymes

"The world is so full of a number of things  
I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings,"

he was of course in error. We cannot all be as happy as

kings until the number of things are reduced. We are trying to be happy by ploughing down cotton and withdrawing land from cultivation. "The number of things" is what's the matter with us—ask Tugwell. "We can all be as happy as kings when we have half the number of things." Stevenson did not know this.

MRS ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE has received two letters from Albert Einstein. The first reads as follows:

I thank you for your great friendliness. I have already read Henry George's great book and really learnt a great deal from it. Yesterday evening I read with admiration—the address about Moses. Men like Henry George are unfortunately. One cannot imagine a more beautiful combination of intellectual keenness, artistic form and fervent love of justice. Every line is written as if for our generation. The spreading of these works is a really deserving cause, for our generation especially has many and important things to learn from Henry George.

With friendly greetings,  
A. EINSTEIN.

THE second letter came in answer to her request for permission to make public the first and may thus be translated from the German:

I give you, according to your request, permission to publish my letter on the work of Henry George although I well know I am no expert in this field and that my judgment therefore is not of great importance. It almost seems to me as if you had no conception to what high degree the work of Henry George is appreciated by serious, thinking people.

The statement sent concerning the cooperation of America and England in foreign policies interests me very much. A short time ago President Butler of Columbia University, gave expression to the same thought which often come in contact with, in English men of politics. This statement (of Henry George) is a new proof to me of the extraordinary foresight of this great personality.

With very great respect,  
A. EINSTEIN.

"NO man in the best of times can pay taxes twice," said Father Coughlin in his broadcast of March 5. He meant that the payment of dues to the American Federation of Labor amounting to \$30,000,000 a year constitutes a second payment of taxes. Has the good father never heard the story of the man whose lawyer said "they can't put you in jail for that?" One hundred and twenty-four million American citizens are paying taxes twice and oftener and have been doing so for many years. When they pay the rental value of the land they use they pay for all that the government does for them. Then they pay again and again in taxes on all they produce and consume. They are now paying \$12,000,000,000 a year this way in addition to rent. The American Federation dues are but a drop in the bucket by comparison. Father Coughlin is barking up the wrong tree. Oh yes, he means well.

## Manhattan Single Tax Club

PRESIDENT Charles H. Ingersoll's public meetings were as follows:

Sloan House, (Y. M. C. A.) N. Y., March 21.—Extraordinary meeting; 300 typical residents of this remarkable club-hotel present. Audience largely socialistic. Talked 40 minutes with an hour and a half quiz, and an hour afterward with a small group. Mrs. Gaston Haxo present and said: "You are one of the few speakers—naming several—that can answer questions and especially those of Socialists."

Far Rockaway High School Forum, March 22.—Engagement came through a young lady who had heard J. R. Brown at another school; 150 present. Class instructor and Prof. Kappen both there. Good talk of 40 minutes; quiz one hour. Group very evidently socialistic and without any sentiment; pushed Mr. Ingersoll hard and relentlessly but were not as mean as some of them are. The Professor said: "Anyone that could hold that bunch that way knows his economics."

Brooklyn Heights Forum, April 11.—Engagement through Mr. Alfred J. Boulton of Brooklyn; 60 present. Talked for 45 minutes; special handling of "How to Get Out of Muddle," (a) stating Single Tax, (b) its relation to standpatism, (c) to "the new deal" and socialism. Quiz lasted until midnight. Very enthusiastic for Mr. Ingersoll and reminded him of previous occasion when he was made honorary member, and asked Mr. Ingersoll to repeat this talk in four weeks, which he did.

Young America Forum, Steinway Hall, N. Y., April 28.—Hall holding 400, crowded. High class young people of social character, doubtless largely socialistic. Talked 40 minutes. Subject assigned, "Futility of Radicalism and Revolution" which Mr. Ingersoll stuck to fairly showing how Single Tax is the only safe and conservative middle of the road. Audience intensely interested.

Dwight Morrow Senior High School, Englewood, N. J., May 1.—All anxious to hear. Mr. Gladwin Bouton talked ten minutes and Mr. Ingersoll followed with thirty-five minutes and quiz of an hour divided between them. All were intensely interested in the talk and want Mr. Ingersoll to come and talk to the economics class.

Brooklyn Heights Forum, May 9.—This talk was to be a repetition of one given April 11, but friends said there were very many new angles that interested them; 100 present. Talked forty minutes and had an hour-quiz, of a very interesting kind.

President Ingersoll's campaign for governorship will curtail somewhat his broadcasting programme and possibly absorb it, though it is hoped that the stations of New Jersey will be open to him. His present aim is to confine New York broadcasting to the early days of the week, leaving him free to organize in New Jersey. His broadcasting schedule is as follows:

Station WGNW (1500 k.c.), Monday, 2:15 p. m.; Tues-

day, 2:15 p. m.; Wednesday, 2:15 p. m.; Thursday, 2:15 p. m. WHOM (1450 k.c.), Friday, 12:45 p. m. WBBC (1400 k.c.), Wednesday, 3:30 p. m. WLTH (1400 k.c.), Thursday, 9:00 a. m. WVFW (1400 k.c.), Friday 8:45 a. m. WWRL (1500 k.c.), Monday, 10:00 a. m.; Wednesday, 1:00 p. m. WDAS (1370 k.c.), Friday, 5:15 p. m. and Saturday 10:15 a. m. and 9:45 p. m.

The governorship campaign has opened auspiciously. The required number of names for the petition, 800, have been filed in Trenton, with 500 or 600 to spare, and although no publicity has been sought, volunteer notices have come to us from all over the country and the *New York Herald-Tribune* has given a very fine story illustrated with Mr. Ingersoll posed with the bust of Henry George in the club office.

Organization of the campaign is under way with Mr. John H. Allen, president of the Everlasting Valve Company, Jersey City, lifelong Single Taxer and associate of Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Chandler in the tax relief work of New Jersey, as campaign manager. Gladwin Bouton, A. N. Chandler, T. T. Lane and F. L. Long are assisting and organizing a publicity and political programme. Publicity is bringing a large volume of inquiry for literature and many congratulations.

Quarters have been secured in the Hotel Douglas of Newark and the next four months will be spent in building as good a state organization as finances will permit. A preliminary canvass among business men who have been cultivated generally for years by Mr. Chandler, indicates that their financial support will be generous and that a thorough campaign can be financed; the campaign will be built largely upon the basis that has been prepared in the tax relief work mentioned. Following is a brief statement going out to the public:

#### CHARLES H. INGERSOLL FOR GOVERNOR

"Mr. Ingersoll, of East Orange, resident of New Jersey since 1895, always an independent democrat, friend of Bryan and Wilson, is the co-ordinator of the Ingersoll *Watch that made the Dollar Famous*, of which type 300 million have been made. Always a profound student of economics and civics, Mr. Ingersoll believes that *abundance* is the natural portion of humanity, and that the removal of self-imposed obstacles (mainly in the form of taxation) will displace the present impoverishment with that abundance.

Business activity being at the base of all prosperity, and mass purchasing-power being the basis of business volume, the *remedy* for depression is the restoring of *jobs and wages*: our 101 taxes on "labor products" almost double the cost of everything the masses buy, cut in half their buying-power, and cause half the unemployment, bad business and low wages; taxes therefore must be shifted to socially-created values where they will open the way for investment of capital and employment of labor.

Main points of Mr. Ingersoll's programme if elected governor:.

1. *To reduce the total taxation in the state twenty-five per cent*: as the independent representative of the people free from political entanglements and obligations, he believes he can do this.

2. *To substitute business rules for political methods* in operating the machinery of government.

3. *To simplify legislation and administration*: to encourage a trend away from socialistic bureaucracy; and toward the democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln.

4. *To shift taxation from Industry to Monopoly*: from labor products to franchises, natural resources and sit values.

5. *Reduction in cost of all public utilities* to a six per cent return on capital investment: as alternatives, taxation of surplus earnings, or public ownership."

Mr. Ingersoll proposes to visit personally all of the editors of the state to secure a maximum of publicity and he proposes also to cultivate existing tax organizations of which there is one in practically every community, and to secure public meetings through them at which the scope will be broadened to cover sources of taxation as well as tax reduction.

While Mr. Ingersoll has entered this campaign with publicity for Single Tax in mind, believing that in no other way can so much propaganda be secured, it is becoming more evident daily that his candidacy will be a popular one, fitting into the political psychology of the state in a way that will make his election possible, and even probable provided a nominal fund can be secured; there has never been a time in the history of the state when sentiment has been so divided and adverse to the ordinary politician and the machines and Mr. Ingersoll is ideally equipped to cover this situation; and the state has become distinctly "tax conscious."

Mr. Ingersoll is very careful of the point of "spoiling" first class Single Taxer to make a third rate politician and assures his Single Tax friends that the very limit of Single Tax content will be poured into this campaign for no other reason than that all his publicity is labelled Single Tax; and a further reason that he has no inclination to avoid it.

As a preliminary move for saturating the state, we have written to all service clubs of New Jersey and expect within the next week or two to have Mr. Ingersoll visiting a different one every day. The meetings arranged, some of which will have already taken place when this is read are as follows: May 12, a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Asbury Park and May 23, a meeting of the New Jersey Taxpayer Association and affiliated organizations. This invitation proves that his candidacy is going to be a popular one, the two candidates winning the primary nomination together with Mr. Ingersoll, the independent candidate, are to be the guests.

Mr. Ingersoll will make his trip to western New York during the latter part of June to speak to the Rochester Rotary Club, June 26, Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Club the 27th, and the Buffalo Rotary Club on the 28th. The Rochester Rotary Club will broadcast Mr. Ingersoll's talk over WHAM, one of the best twelve stations in the country. Mr. Charles A. Lingham of Lockport has arranged this.

Mr. Alfred J. Boulton of Brooklyn presented to the Manhattan Single Tax Club two bound volumes of "The Standard" edited by Henry George, for the years 1887 and 1888. Each year is bound separately and we extend our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Boulton for these books and invite all our friends to come and inspect them.

Mr. Ingersoll's book "Who Will Save Democracy?" is being revised, and with the collaboration of Mr. Bouton and Mr. Spencer Heath it will be ready for publication soon and may compete for the prize being offered by Little Brown Co. next April for the best non-fiction book.

MARCELLA STUTMAN,  
Assistant Secretary.

## Schalkenbach Foundation Work

AS the time for the annual meeting of the Foundation draws near, summaries of the year's work are made.

Considering the Inventory Report, we find that from May, 1933 to May, 1934, a total of 5,014 books were distributed, 48,000 pamphlets, and 50,000 form letters of one kind or another, with several hundred thousand pieces of advertising. The book most in demand was "Progress and Poverty," but "Social Problems" has supplanted "Significant Paragraphs" in popularity, this last year and we find that "Social Problems" is the second most called-for book. The Foundation pays for the printing of the various editions, pays postage expenses on each order that comes to it, and stands the expenses of newspaper and direct mail advertising as much to sustain interest in the teachings of Henry George as to distribute the books.

Not long ago an article appeared in *Publisher's Weekly* (the trade paper for bookdealers), in which, in a list of fifty best books (1833—1933), the nineteenth was "Progress and Poverty." In an accompanying article by Edward Weeks, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly Press*, Mr. Weeks explained:

"Enthusiasts told me that "Progress and Poverty" had sold between two and eight million copies, but the five American publishers who kept track of it report a combined sale of about 75,000. Mr. Grosset stated that George's "Protection or Free Trade" had sold 1,700,000 copies, but he overlooked the fact that Congressman Johnson was responsible for more than three-fourths of that sale. He had the whole book read into the *Congressional Record*, and then franked it throughout the country at one or two cents a copy. That's not book-selling!"

What probably happened was that large numbers of the early editions in paper were sold, that large foreign editions were sold, and that possibly two million copies found their way into the hands of readers in the last part of the nineteenth century. But it is this notion that many millions have been sold that has blinded many of our people to the fact that from 1897 to 1932 a *period of thirty-five years*, Doubleday only sold 54,849 copies of "Progress and Poverty" and 7,500 copies of "Protection or Free Trade."

Note, now, that the Foundation during its six years of active book distribution has sold about 15,056 unabridged "Progress and Poverty," and 14,559 "Significant Paragraphs," an abridgment. Since its inception, 45,000 volumes have been published or bought for re-sale by the Foundation, and 40,000 have been sold or distributed. The remaining 5,000 represent stock still on hand.

Among the interesting donations of the year were the fifty "What Is the Single Tax" by Post, that went to Georgia libraries, and various copies of the "Philosophy of Henry George" also put into Georgia libraries with the cooperation of Mr. Harris. There was a donation of twenty-five copies of "What Is the Single Tax?" to libraries in Pennsylvania, and sixteen "Significant Paragraphs" to Canadian professors; also a donation of ten copies of "Progress and Poverty" to chapters of the Sigma Phi fraternity; twenty "Significant Paragraphs" to a Rochester high school, several complete sets of books and pamphlets to the Georgia State Industrial College, with the cooperation of Mrs. Skeel, and a set of books to the Hebrew University in Palestine in cooperation with Mr. Harry Weinberger.

Reviewing the activities of the year, we find the following:

- 5,400 new printing of "The Single Tax, What It Is and Why We Urge It" pamphlet. May, 1933.
- 1,700 form letters, June, 1933, to Single Taxers explaining the uses to which the new book "The Philosophy of Henry George" can be put.
- 2,000 reprints of a review of the "Philosophy of Henry George by William Soskin," put into circulation.
- 5,000 additional advertising folders for the "Philosophy" printed and sent out.
- 2,000 special folder advertising "Progress and Poverty" sent out to new lists.
- 2,630 letters to bookdealers reminding them of the books and service available from the Foundation, and offering special display material for windows, September, 1933.
- 23,500 pamphlets "Steps to Economic Recovery" printed and distributed.
- 5,720 special letters with copy of "Steps" pamphlet sent to Single Taxers and interested persons, September, 1933.
- 1,759 letters to teachers in schools and colleges, enclosing the "Steps" pamphlet and other circulars, September, 1933.

- 2,600 letters to bookdealers giving prices on "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and "The Philosophy of Henry George."
- 5,000 bulletins to special lists, including the American Economic Association, and the American Sociologic Society, September, October, 1933. Included material on "The Philosophy" and free copy of the "Steps" pamphlet.
- 51 special letters to Single Taxers concerning research in land speculation.
- 1,925 letters to high school teachers and libraries enclosing "Steps" pamphlet and reminding of the service extended, with reference to shipment of books at special rates for school use.
- 1,000 letters to the editors of daily newspapers, enclosing the "Steps" pamphlet and reminding them of the anniversary of Henry George's campaign and passing, October, 1933.
- 57 special letters to New York librarians in high schools reminding them of the fact that sets of Henry George's books are in the libraries; "Steps" pamphlet also enclosed, October, 1933.
- 7,500 form letters to names on our lists with special folder for Christmas orders, December, 1933.
- 15,000 reprints of the Dun & Bradstreet article on "Progress and Poverty," December, 1933.
- 8,000 "Causes of Business Depression," reprints, December, 1933.
- 20,000 booklists, December, 1933.
- 250 special letters of publicity about the Foundation, sent to editors of magazines, February, 1934.
- 2,500 letters to dealers, February, 1934.
- 5,000 reprints of speech by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, February, 1934.
- 20,000 reprints of Dr. John Haynes Holmes review of "The Philosophy of Henry George."
- 100 special letters to librarians in Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania cities, inquiring as to whether there was a noticeable increase of interest in the Henry George books.
- 1,560 special letters to Single Taxers concerning a new book by Prof. Brown, entitled "Economic Basis of Tax Reform," February, 1934.
- 1,025 special letters to bookdealers, February 21, 1934.
- 1,500 letters to professors reminding them of need for Henry George books for the spring term, March, 1934.
- 128 letters to editors of Mississippi newspapers, enclosing the "Steps" pamphlet and "The Single Tax" pamphlet.
- 250 letters to the literary editors of magazines and newspapers introducing the new edition of "Social Problems."
- 5,000 copies of a "prepared review" of "Social Problems, which has been widely used by the various newspapers, April, 1934.

- New edition of "Social Problems" (1,000 copies), released April 16, 1934 styled to match "Progress and Poverty," new jacket, index.
- 15,000 folders designed to advertise the books of Henry George, a sort of book catalogue.
- 5,000 similar folders arranged for dealers.
- 1,900 letters to bookdealers offering a supply of the new catalogue and special terms on "Social Problems."
- 456 letters introducing Prof. Brown's book to professors. Enclosed with letter was review of "Social Problems" and our book catalogue.
- 596 special letters to the American Philosophical Society enclosing book catalogue and a message about "The Philosophy of Henry George."
- 2,500 letters to Single Taxers and interested persons suggesting that letters be written to the newspapers concerning the new edition of "Social Problems."

### ADVERTISING

An advertisement was inserted in *The Nation* bi-monthly, advertising Henry George's books. One experiment was made with the *American Mercury*, December, 1933.

An advertisement for both "Social Problems" and "Progress and Poverty" was inserted in *The Nation*, May 17, 1933.

A memorial advertisement for Henry George and his writings was inserted on the book page of the *New York Times*, October 30, 1933.

Two advertisements were inserted in the *New York Times* book page, March 21, and March 27, 1934 respectively. A back cover advertisement was placed in *The Annalist*, March 23, 1934, and special advertisements for "Social Problems" were placed in the trade journals, such as *Wilson's Bulletin*, *Retail Bookseller*, and *Latest Books*.

A limited appropriation made it impossible to carry out a full advertising programme for the year 1933-1934.

A considerable amount of publicity was procured, however, both directly and indirectly, from letters and activities of the Foundation. Many excellent reviews of "Social Problems" appeared. A long article on Henry George recently appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* and the number of Single Tax letter writers who contributed to newspapers throughout the year was increased. Many of them obtained "ammunition" from the printed matter sent out by the Foundation.

Perhaps the chief use of the work above described lies in the fact that it supplies literature to hundreds throughout the country who are in touch with the Foundation, and who are active in their own communities, in keeping alive the interest of fellow citizens in the Georgist programme. Others direct their attention to high school teachers and librarians. Still others write to local newspapers carrying on an interesting and informative correspondence which is given space and recognition by the local editor.

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

# On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

SPEAKING APPOINTMENTS, MARCH—APRIL, 1934

With the name of person by whom each appointment was secured and the attendance).

Peoria, Ill.—Kiwanis Club; Dr. Canada Wendell; 65; noon; March 4. Henry George No Tax League; R. E. Green; Sec'y.; public meeting; City Hall; 35; evening; March 7. Steuben Club; Fred J. Bahni; 10; noon; March 8.

Sioux City, Iowa.—Morningside College; assembly; August Williges; 200; morning; March 12. Rotary Club; August Williges; 150; noon; March 12.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa.—Lions Club; Lucian T. Wilcox; 50; noon; March 15. Hi-Twelve Club; Lucian T. Wilcox; 100; noon; March 16.

Lincoln, Neb.—Christian Church; Oberlin's Bible Class; Miss C. Blumer; 40; morning; March 18. Henry George Club No. 1; luncheon; Miss C. E. Blumer, Sec'y.; noon; March 18. Wesleyan College; economics classes; Prof. Roy J. W. Ely; 30; morning; March 19. Union College; Convocation; E. C. Eden; 250; morning; March 19. University of Nebraska; economics classes; 150; morning; March 19. Henry George Club No. 2; 25; afternoon; March 19. Henry George Club No. 1; E. W. Maxey, Pres.; public meeting; 80; evening; March 19. Wesleyan College; Convocation; 15; morning; March 20. Wesleyan College; economics class; 30; morning; March 20. Federation of Women; Mrs. A. G. Chapman; 250; noon; March 20. Public meeting; Y. M. C. A.; John L. Bertram; 40; evening; March 20.

Omaha, Neb.—Municipal University; Prof. Claude Stimson; 50; morning; March 21. Engineers Club; Paul K. Harlan; 50; noon; March 21. Creighton University; Economics Club; Prof. L. A. Husack; 100; afternoon; March 21. Specialty Manufacturers Assn.; A. W. Falvey; 20; noon; March 24. WAAW Radio Station; A. W. Falvey; afternoon; March 24. Parlor meeting; Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bailey; 25; evening; March 23. Public meeting; Henry George Club; City Hall; A. W. Falvey, Sec'y.; 10; evening; March 24. First N. E. Church, Bible Class; Prof. Hosman; 30; morning; March 25.

Fremont, Neb.—Midland College; assembly; H. F. Martin; Pres.; 10; morning; March 22. Rotary Club; H. F. Martin; 65; noon; March 23.

Wichita, Kan.—North High School; Miss Green's economic classes; 10; morning; March 26. East High School; economics and history classes; Henry Ware Allen; 200; morning; March 26. Public meeting; Henry Ware Allen; Y. M. C. A.; evening; March 26. Wichita University; economics classes; Mr. Allen; 50; morning; March 27. Civitan Club; Mr. Allen; 40; noon; March 27.

Topeka, Kan.—Federation of Labor; George Hughes; 30; evening; March 28.

Kansas City, Mo.—East Central Improvement Assn.; James C. Muller, Sec'y.; 50; evening; April 3.

St. Louis, Mo.—Central Trades and Labor Union; W. M. Brandt, Sec'y.; 200; afternoon, April 8. Young People's Group; Temple Israel; N. D. Alper; 30; evening; April 8. St. Louis University; Prof. Neill's economics class; N. D. Alper; 20; afternoon; April 10. Washington University; Lean Stephen's economics class; 60; morning; April 11. Public meeting; Y. M. H. A.; N. L. Alper; 25; evening; April 11. South Side Lions Club; Robert Mueller; 50; noon; April 12. The Principia; economics classes; Edw. Boeck; 30; morning; April 13. American Legion; Fred Stockham Post; N. D. Alper; 30; noon; April 13.

East St. Louis, Ill.—Rotary Club; R. M. Baker; 40; noon; April 1. Public meeting; City Hall; R. M. Baker; 6; evening; April 13.

Belleville, Ill.—Optimist Club; Henry Kolb and Charles Lischer; 40; noon; April 9. Taxpayers Assn.; public meeting; J. C. Bocquet, Pres.; 10; evening; April 9.

Selma, Ala.—Selma University; public meeting and Board of Trustees; William H. Dinkins, Pres.; 100; evening; April 18.

Fairhope, Ala.—Public meeting; Comings Hall; Mrs. Marietta Johnson and E. B. Gaston; 30; evening; April 20.

New Orleans, La.—Kiwanis Club; W. E. Clement; 30; noon; April 24. Central Trades and Labor Council; J. G. Muhs, Secy.; 60; evening; April 27.

Jackson, Miss.—Public meeting; County Court House; Dr. E. A. Copeland; 35; evening; April 30.

Monroe, La.—Trades Council; Wm. Rodriguez; 15; evening; May 2.

Minden, La.—Lions Club; E. L. Richardson; 40; noon; May 3.

Natchitoches, La.—Public meeting; Miss Joan Chaffe; American Legion Hall; 30; evening; May 4.

These fifty-six talks during a two month period reached at least 3,500 persons, elicited over 200 signed requests for literature (which were turned over to the Schalkenbach Foundation), and received reports in nearly all the newspapers in the cities visited. *The Omaha World-Herald* ran a first page feature article headlined, "Henry George Marches On." The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* asked for a special article on "The New Frontier." The Selma, Ala., *Daily Times-Journal* was good enough to say that the Selma University talk was "one of the most worthwhile and informing ever delivered here on the economic crisis." The strictly Hearst papers consistently made no mention of the talks.

Single Tax bombs are resting under the citadels of privilege in every state. Many of the fuses are lit. It is only a matter of time—of education and organization—until the walls will crumble and the ways be cleared for a new advance of civilization.

## ILLINOIS

Four of the largest cities in Illinois now have local organizations: Chicago, Peoria, Springfield and East St. Louis. Four years ago Chicago alone had a club. Two years ago the Peoria and Springfield Henry George Clubs were started and this year finds East St. Louis on the roster. Regular meetings are held in Chicago, Peoria, and East St. Louis.

Strange as it seems, the president of the Henry George No Tax League of Peoria has a family name synonymous with landlordism in its most redundant sense. But Dr. Canada Wendell is only a very distant relative of the late New York Wendell sisters and his economic philosophy is even more distant from the prevailing one that makes drones of those who might be useful citizens. Dr. Wendell is a trustee of the American Osteopathic Association. He is a ready speaker, an intense believer in individual freedom, and a successful battler for what he considers right community measures. The success of the League's semi-monthly meetings in the City Hall is largely due to the persistent effort of Dr. Wendell and Mr. R. E. Green, secretary. Mr. Green is the son of Mr. Charles

A. Green, militant land restorationist of Hannibal, Mo. *No Taxes* and other Georgist literature are distributed at the meetings. Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis for Tax Reform" has been under study. Mr. Albert Henniges, printer-Single Taxer of Peoria, has reproduced the Encyclopedia Britannica's excellent statement of Single Tax principles in an attractive leaflet.

When Robert M. Baker of East St. Louis went into a barber shop one day to get a haircut he came out with a copy of "Progress and Poverty" under his arm. Young Mr. Baker, it appears, expressed some thoughts on how the country might be set right. The barber didn't know whether Mr. Baker was right or not and Mr. Baker being an accountant by profession, the barber was not going to argue with him. But another of the barber's customers had tried to proselytize him with another idea on how to save the country and this customer, Rev. Walter Schlaretzki, left "Progress and Poverty" to show more in detail how it could be done. The barber had really never gotten into the book when Mr. Baker came along. So why not test it out on him? Whatever ideas Mr. Baker originally advanced to the barber, "Progress and Poverty" soon ate its way into them and today the philosophy of Henry George stands supreme in his mind. He already has several converts to his credit; has gotten "Progress and Poverty" into many hands, and has secured subscriptions for LAND AND FREEDOM. Mr. Baker is an able speaker, writer, and organizer. With the help of Rev. Schlaretzki, who has been an ardent Single Taxer for fifteen years, he is now getting the Henry George Club of East St. Louis thoroughly under way. Meetings are planned at which Rev. Schlaretzki will lay the groundwork of the Henry George philosophy in a series of addresses.

Belleville, Ill., twelve miles east of East St. Louis, has a number of Single Taxers with prospects for an active Henry George Club. One friend of the movement there is Hon. Walter Nesbit, congressman-at-large, who wrote Mr. Baker on Jan. 24: "I have read most of Henry George's works . . . and am one of his disciples." We regret that Congressman Nesbit was defeated in the primaries in April.

Canton, Ill., thirty miles west of Peoria, is now the home of Mrs. Mabelle Brooks, formerly of Arden, Del., and Chicago. Mrs. Brooks, who is director of relief agencies for Fulton County, arranged a number of speaking appointments for Mr. Maurice Welty of Chicago for March 7 and 8.

#### IOWA

The shades of Herbert Quick crying "Vampire!" must be haunting the cornfields of Iowa today as hundreds of tenant farmers are being crowded off their farms by owners who wish themselves to feed at the trough of the corn-hog money of the AAA. "The Real Trouble with the Farmers" is the same today that it was when Herbert

Quick wrote that great little book. There is nothing inherent in the minds of Iowa farmers, or any farmer, to make them adverse to the Single Tax. It is only the lack of information and lack of vision. Farmers talked to, all through Iowa, showed the highest receptivity to the Single Tax idea and were eager to get literature and to know what could be done to put the programme into operation. Very few of the many interviewed showed the slightest disposition to consider the corn-hog measure as anything more than rake-offs for the large landholder. While seventy-five per cent of the farms are said to be operated by tenants, there is one farm, the Adams Ranch owned by one man, which comprises eleven sections of 7,040 acres.

In Sioux City, where Herbert Quick lived for many years, is a beautiful wooded park with a ravine named in his honor and an Iowa boulder placed as an inspiring spot in his memory. This is the work of August Williges. He is Mr. Williges, one of the early members of the Rotary International, who is responsible for the remarkable eleventh section of the Rotary Code of Ethics, which reads as follows:

"Finally, believing in the universality of the Golden Rule . . . we contend that Society best holds together when equal opportunity is accorded all men in the natural resources of this planet."

Cedar Rapids has several good Single Taxers some of the most active of whom are Lucian T. Wilcox, J. Kennedy, and Matthew Cowden. Some years ago Mr. Wilcox attempted to put a Single Tax bee in the bonnet of our present Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace then editor of *Successful Farming* in Des Moines, but regrets that the bee evidently didn't sting.

#### NEBRASKA

It is fitting that Lincoln, Neb., named after the Great Emancipator, should have two Henry George Clubs and that one of them should be composed of those who Lincoln's pen set nominally free. Henry George Club No. 2, with Negro members, is studying Henry George to learn how the people of all races may be emancipated from the slavery of poverty. It meets in Phyllis Wheatley Center.

It would be impossible to pick out any one individual here as the leader of the Lincoln Henry George movement and responsible for the spirit of cooperation that pervades all its activities. For each one of the leaders claims that the others are to be given all the credit. But when you meet Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Maxey, Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, Miss Clara E. Blumer, Mr. and Mrs. E. Eden, Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Seifert, John L. Bertram and others, you realize that the movement in Lincoln could not be what it is without each one of them.

The First Henry George Club of Lincoln is marked by several distinctive qualities that make it a joy to con-

plate. In the first place, men and women are equally participants in its work. There is the closest cooperation between all the members. The main purpose, to advance the teachings and programme of Henry George, is constantly kept in mind and consideration of side issues is not encouraged. New friends are shown every courtesy and given every inducement to begin and continue the study of Henry George. Meetings are held regularly every Monday evening in the Social Science building of the University of Nebraska. This is an environment that conduces to serious study of an important question.

The Maxey's, the Chapman's, and Miss Blumer have been Single Taxers for a good many years. They organized the club because they felt the time had come for action. Mr. Chapman has arranged many an appointment in the past years for John Z. White. The Eden's, the Seifert's, and Mr. Bertram are new Single Taxers. Mr. Seifert's study of the question was started by seeing the account of the Single Tax town, New Westminster, B. C., in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

But Lincoln is not the only city in Nebraska with active Single Taxers. In the Omaha Henry George Club are Mr. A. W. Falvey, Mr. Paul K. Harlan, and Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Bailey, to mention some. In Fremont there are Dr. J. Tilton Young and Pres. H. F. Martin of Midland College. Mayor J. F. Rohn of Fremont is decidedly friendly to the Single Tax.

#### KANSAS

The two stalwarts of the Henry George movement in Kansas are Henry Ware Allen of Wichita and George Hughes of Topeka. Mr. Allen's Single Tax letters appearing in such papers as the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* are widely read. Many Single Taxers are proud possessors of his "Henry George Calendar" with its quotations from Henry George for each day in the year and with the birthdays of leading Single Taxers. Mr. Allen's father, Edward A. H. Allen, was principal of Friend's Academy in New York City which was at one time attended by the daughter of Henry George, Mrs. Anna George de Mille. When Mr. Allen was vice president of the Kansas City Single Tax Club in 1889, he arranged a meeting for Henry George. He remembers that Henry George said that "he who begins the study of economics gets on a greased plank that will soon drop him into the Single Tax." Mr. Allen's favorite quotation from Henry George is: "Unless it be laid in justice, the social structure cannot stand."

From going fishing with Matthew Arnold in England to bronco busting in the West is a hurdle that only George Hughes, lover-of Nature, has ever achieved so far as we know. When Mr. Hughes returned to England as a young man he tried to interest his father, Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's School Days," in the Single Tax but, he says, without success. However, Mr. Hughes has made one recent convert in Mr. Frank L. Brooks, editor

of the Topeka weekly, *Plain Talk*. Other Topeka Single Taxers include Dean John W. Day of Grace Cathedral and Marco Morrow, business manager of Capper Publications.

#### MISSOURI

James C. Fuller and Edward White are hammering away in Kansas City. . . . Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown is writing and teaching at Columbia. . . . Noah D. Alper, Erwin Kauffmann, Edward Boeck, Charles Lischer are giving no quarter in St. Louis. Clark McAdams, editor of the *Post-Dispatch*, is a good friend.

#### ALABAMA

One of James R. Brown's many Single Tax converts is William H. Dinkins, A. M., executive officer of Selma University at Selma, Ala. Dr. Dinkins had read a great deal on Single Tax but he did not "see the cat" until he read Mr. Brown's "Plain Talk on Taxation." Since that time, for ten years, he has done everything in his power to advance the movement. While studying at Columbia University in New York in 1928 Dr. Dinkins met many Single Tax leaders including Mr. Brown, Frederick H. Monroe, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, John J. Murphy, and Miss Antoinette Kaufmann. His endorsement of the philosophy of Henry George appears in Prof. Brown's "Significant Paragraphs from Henry George." Selma University is one of the leading colored educational institutions in the South. It is gratifying to note that Booker T. Washington was himself a believer in Single Tax. As quoted in the *Twentieth Century Magazine* of May, 1911, he said: "I believe land value taxation to be the salvation and the only real salvation of the South."

If life begins at forty, as one writer would have us believe, Fairhope has its greatest achievements yet to be made. Had the Colony been founded on any other principles than those of freedom of individual initiative it could not have survived four decades of panics, booms, and war as it has. For regardless of what the Colony has been able to do in other ways to demonstrate the Single Tax principles this much is a monumental fact; it has given birth to a beautiful town. It is true that due to a series of set backs beyond the control of any one community, such as being cut off from the main highway, the hotels are not full to overflowing and the stores are not bursting with trade. But Fairhope is going on with what appears to be greater verve than hundreds of similar towns throughout the South. It is definitely a force for the social and economic regeneration of mankind. To many people, in fact, Fairhope is not a place but a symbol. It is a symbol of that day when want shall be banished from the earth, when government oppression shall be ended, when human aspiration shall have opportunity for fulfillment.

Weaved into the history of Fairhope are the lives of two great pioneers—Ernest B. Gaston and Mrs. Marietta Johnson. The Organic School of Education, in its twenty-

seventh year, for all the hard times, has been able to do what hundreds of educational systems have not; pay its teachers.

Among the young Single Taxers Fairhope and Dr. and Mrs. C. A. Gaston, Mr. and Mrs. Rubin Rockwell, Orville Green, and Miss Mary Bishop.

### MISSISSIPPI

Some one from the Milk River delegation at the Henry George Congress in Chicago last September said that it looked to him like the South was about to return the compliment of the Civil War by coming up North to free the white man. This Milk River Single Taxer had in mind the Memphis and Fairhope delegations with Abe D. Waldauer, Judge A. B. Pittman, and Mr. Gaston.

If our Milk River friends were to visit Mississippi at this time he would realize that he spoke more truly than he knew.

The next governor of Mississippi, if our prophecy comes true, will be Dr. E. A. Copeland of Jackson. His platform is simple: "Let's have the Single Tax instead of the Mingle Tax." Dr. Copeland is a fourth cousin of Dr. Royal S. Copeland, Senator from New York. He was born in Copeland, Ala., July 8, 1884, and although he has helped elect two governors of Mississippi in recent years he has never run for public office himself. And he won't run now if the other Democratic candidates will come out for Single Tax. "We invite all Democratic candidates to advocate this system in order to bring about the New Era," reads his platform headline.

In a letter to Gov. Conner on Jan. 24, Dr. Copeland said, "If you, to whom the people are looking for relief, will enact the Single Tax, you will deliver our suffering masses out of bondage. And besides, you will save me the hard work and expense of running for Governor. . . I do not want the office. But if you do not enact the Single Tax, I am going to ask the people to elect me, and I am going to show them why they have not been relieved."

Dr. Copeland, as a physician, is known throughout the state. Although he has never spoken in public until this campaign he has already shown his power to reach into the hearts and minds of his audience. He has a graciousness of manner for which the Southern speaker is noted. He has a faculty for reducing every idea to its simplest, most human terms. A further asset is his vocabulary of Mississippi slang which he admits "would stretch ten feet wide from the Atlantic to the Pacific." The "persimmon headed politicians" and the "long, black coated, bloody handed, organized vandals" will not be spared in this campaign. But Dr. Copeland will also say, as he said in his announcement on Dec. 24, 1933:

Let me persuade you to turn your attention to Henry George's Single Tax; the just and scientific method of applying the Mosaic land law. Land monopoly being the basis of all monopoly, we must first solve the land question. . . What sense of justice is there in establishing doles and breadlines to feed and clothe the hungry and

forcing them to receive degrading charity and at the same time denying them their natural God-given right to use idle land to honorably support themselves and their dependents? . . .

I beg every voter in Mississippi to inform him and herself on the cause of depression and poverty and hunger in the midst of plenty, and the remedy to apply, as set forth by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty." . . . The Single Tax is the natural law of taxation and it is the natural law of the distribution of wealth. . . .

You may as well levy a tax on the shroud and casket to resurrect a corpse to give it new life as to try to revive business and promote industry and trade by levying sales taxes, privilege taxes, or excise taxes of any kind on the products of labor. . . .

With a high school education, a copy of "Progress and Poverty" and the Holy Bible, a child is well equipped for the Battle of Life. The holy truths set forth in these books will indeed teach one how to live and how to die. The Single Tax conforms to every moral law and precept of the Holy Bible. It is the fulfillment of the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." It is the realization of the golden rule. . . .

I earnestly appeal to you who want to give your children a better chance in life than you had, and to restore to them their God-given natural right to the use of the land to support themselves, to aid us in winning the Single Tax victory. . . .

Dr. Copeland was first introduced to the Single Tax a few years ago by a Tammany politician, William Hart of Brooklyn, who told of Henry George's mayoralty campaigns. Then, through local Single Taxers he became more interested. Mr. S. B. Myers, an old guard Single Taxer, converted Mr. J. C. Notgrass, a younger man. Mr. Notgrass converted Dr. Copeland, and Dr. Copeland not to be outdone, brought Attorney Roy Arnold into the fold. These men constitute the Four Horsemen of the campaign. Mr. Arnold, in his early thirties and an eloquent speaker, is running for Secretary of State on the Single Tax platform. The campaign committee hopes to have a full ticket before the campaign is in full swing.

The situation in Mississippi is probably unlike that in any other state. It has no city over 50,000 in population. It has 29,000,000 acres with only 6,000,000 that have ever been brought under cultivation. Of these 2,000,000 have been taken out of cultivation by the cotton-corn-hog American Agricultural Atrocity programme. So here are 25,000,000 acres unused. Eighty-three individuals hold title to 6,000,000 acres. Lady Gordon and others of England hold 2,000,000 acres. In addition to this shocking distribution of land holdings, Mississippi has the most burdensome system of taxation conceivable of which the new sales tax is an important part. Here truly, Single Tax should make headway if for no other reason than its brilliance of contrast with the existing system.

The campaign committee has detailed information of the land situation in every county of the state, prepared by Mr. J. R. Bain. Dr. Copeland plans to carry the fact into every part of the state. That he will have to go to the people himself is evidenced by the fact that the daily papers are entirely ignoring the campaign and its issue. Weekly newspapers, however, are carrying many columns of straight Single Tax articles. A very able newspaper

man connected with the campaign is Mr. A. C. Sherman, editor and publisher of the *State Tribune*.

The election itself does not take place until August, 1935. Dr. Copeland has entered the campaign confident that the early candidate catches the vote. Write to the Single Tax Campaign Committee, Century Building, Jackson, Miss., for a copy of Dr. Copeland's platform.

Mr. R. D. Moore, Land Commissioner of Mississippi, with 2,600,000 acres under his control, is a Single Taxer and new subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM.

### LOUISIANA

The movement is building up slowly but surely in Louisiana. Miss Mona McMahon, secretary of the Henry George Club of New Orleans, continues to place copies of Henry George's books in the hands of prominent people. Her letters to public men and women cannot help but have a strong influence.

Mr. T. E. Dabney, brilliant editorial writer on the *New Orleans States*, has become an uncompromising Single Taxer during the past two years. He has read his copy of "Progress and Poverty" "almost to pieces" and now is subscribing to LAND AND FREEDOM to get a new copy. Mr. Dabney's uncle, Rev. Quincy Ewing of Lindsey, Calif., is a Single Taxer, as is Quincy Ewing, Jr., head of the Associated Press at Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Harry Lazarus, secretary of the Louisiana Real Estate Board, is 104 pages of the way through his first reading of "Progress and Poverty." The book was given him by Mr. Bluford H. J. Balter, owner of Balter Building and manager of extensive properties throughout New Orleans. Mr. Lazarus plans to help organize a discussion group as a part of the Henry George Club to meet for the joint study of "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Louis Hufft, president of the Louisiana Real Estate Board, is a Single Taxer of many years' standing.

Mr. R. B. Roessle, prominent New Orleans architect, when a young man heard Henry George and recently had his interest reawakened. As a member of the new industries committee of the Association of Commerce he intends to urge consideration of Single Tax principles in that body.

Mr. F. D. Blue of New Orleans read a first edition of "Progress and Poverty" in 1880 and has been a disciple of Henry George ever since. He is a former Indiana man and knew Mr. L. O. Bishop when that Fairhoper was a newspaper publisher at Clinton, Ind. Mr. Blue is the grandfather of George Blue, one of the high school student guests at the Henry George Dinner in New Orleans in October, 1932.

One of the New Orleans book stores reports that it has sold over twenty-five copies of "Progress and Poverty" during the past year and five copies during the past month. It is very well pleased with the Schalkenbach edition, and keeps a copy in the window display at regular intervals.

Hon. Frank H. Colbert, former member of the Louisiana

Tax Commission, was recently elected chairman of the new Democratic Executive Committee of Minden, La. If there is a constitutional convention, Mr. Colbert hopes to be elected a delegate and help fight for local option in taxation. At such a convention, Hon. George K. Perrault, member of the state legislature from Opelousas, would probably be a delegate and could be depended on for local option. Mr. Perrault has been a follower of Henry George since reading "Progress and Poverty" and the "Condition of Labor" in 1924. He has been a member of the legislature since that time. He is an attorney and 34 years old.

Capt. G. B. Cooley and his young convert, Mr. William Rodriguez, are holding the fort at Monroe, La. Mr. Rodriguez is a candidate for Finance Commissioner of Monroe.

Mr. D. F. Shell of Winfield, La., has been a Single Taxer since the *Public* days but never met another Single Taxer until he attended the Single Tax meeting in Natchitoches on May 4. He has one convert on his Single Tax scoreboard, however, in his nephew, Jake Shell, postman at Monroe.

Natchitoches, La., has never forgotten the Single Tax it learned at the feet of its late and honored citizen, Judge M. H. Carver, whose death occurred eight years ago. Mrs. Carver and her daughter are among those he left with a deep appreciation of the philosophy of Henry George.

Miss Joan Chaffe, formerly of New Orleans, is now in Natchitoches and doing everything possible to further the movement in that beautiful little city on the banks of Cane River.

Mr. Monroe's itinerary until September 1 is as follows:

California—San Diego, May 27—June 2; Los Angeles, June 3—16; Bakersfield, Fresno, Stockton, June 17—23; San Francisco, June 24—July 7.

California—Oregon—Sacramento, Eugene, July 8—14.

Oregon—Washington—Portland, Tacoma, Olympia, July 15—21.

Washington—Seattle, July 22—28.

British Columbia—Victoria, Nanaimo, Vancouver, July 29—August 4.

British Columbia—Washington—New Westminster, Wenatchee, August 5—11.

Washington—Spokane, Walla Walla, August 12—18.

Idaho—Utah—Boise, Salt Lake City, August 19—25.

Colorado—Grand Junction, Leadville, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Denver, August 26—September 1.

**L**ISTENING to some people, one would think the cause of poverty was not work enough. If the Creator had made rocks harder, soil less fertile, iron as scarce as gold and gold as diamonds—or if ships would sink and cities burn down oftener, there would be less poverty, because there would be more work to do.—HENRY GEORGE.

If voluntary ignorance is bliss professorial economists must be happy.

## Henry George School of Social Science

**T**HINGS have happened and are now happening at the Henry George School of Social Science that bid fair to be the turning point in the Henry George movement which will carry it on to success and to the eventual realization of the fondest hopes of its followers.

The Students have taken hold! Filled with the zeal that only a thorough understanding of the economics and the philosophy of Henry George can give, and inspired by the self-sacrificing work of their teacher and guide, Oscar Geiger, they have formed themselves into a Student-Council of the Henry George School of Social Science and are sending forth broadcast to all followers of Henry George a message and appeal that truly breathes the spirit of conviction, determination—and Victory!

Here is the message:

### MESSAGE FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL

of the

#### HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

to the followers of Henry George throughout the nation

urging that they join with them in forming a

#### HENRY GEORGE FELLOWSHIP

The qualifications for membership to be an understanding of the teachings of Henry George, and interest and effort in forwarding this Cause for the ultimate freedom of man.

#### The Message:

This is Spring,—seed-sowing is in the minds of countless millions over the length and breadth of our land.

Seed-sowing—can it be carried out in the midst of a crowded city?

Truly, yes.

Seeds of truth can be sown—and grown—in the hearts and minds of men, women and bright youth.

Such sowing has been faithfully done, on a crowded street, in the centre of a great city, in a school, the Henry George School of Social Science. This sowing too has been done with as real a reliance upon human nature, and the great laws which govern it, as that of the seed-sower upon the earth itself and the majestic laws which there govern growth.

In this School the seed is good, the sower skilled and wise, the soil of various qualities.

The fruit will follow—is even now ripening in places.

Can this sowing—and growing—continue?

This depends partly on you.

The students of this School, who thus address you, are being welded into a fine fellowship for a common cause,—that all may recognize that

“The Earth is the birthright of all Mankind, and all have an equal right to its use.”

Admiration and love for a teacher—truly a teacher of teachers—and a growing desire to spread near and far a knowledge of the spiritual quality of this work, which

may produce peacefully and rationally such vast changes amongst men, impels the student body, through its Council to appeal widely for the means of continued support of the School, which has ever increasing possibilities.

If such support is forthcoming regularly and generously from those who believe in the message of “Progress and Poverty,” to enable this work to expand and grow, Man’s release from poverty and all its disastrous ills to mind, body and spirit, may be at hand, and progress assured.

The times are strange indeed, but dawn follows dark.

We, the Student Council of the Henry George School of Social Science, invite you to the truly glorious and noble task of supporting the work of the School, which we know to be worthy of the best efforts and gifts of its friends.

Will you join our fellowship to be known as the Henry George Fellowship by aiding the cause in some way, with a new consecration and, if possible, by subscribing towards free scholarships that are now and henceforth being established in this School?

Frank Chodorov lately wrote to LAND AND FREEDOM from Springfield, Mass.:

“On my next trip west I am going to talk Oscar Geiger’s School to Single Taxers I meet. If there is a spark of the old light left in them they must help. I wish I knew how to sell the School to Single Taxers of the country. I hope you will not consider it blasphemous, but I think Oscar is the nearest incarnation of the Christ idea I have ever known. The teaching of the Single Tax is not only good pedagogy—it is inspirational. He doesn’t deviate from or apologize for one word of Henry George. The simplicity and clearness with which he expounds the philosophy is, I believe, one reason why his students become enthusiasts. The other reason is Oscar himself. He teaches so that they understand. That understanding plus his sincerity produces faith. I wish every Single Taxer in the country could sit in at one of his classes could see the light of understanding, of revelation expressed in the faces of the young men and women students. I think that were possible they would agree with me—that the Henry George School of Social Science is the hope of the continued life of our movement. May He who gives life be generous to us by preserving Oscar Geiger for many years, and may the Single Taxers help carry on his work by their financial help.”

While it is true that the leader of the School does not deviate from or apologize for one word of Henry George, it is also true that he has a practical procedure to offer whereby this magnificent theory may be made actually to work, here and now. This is a distinct contribution to the Henry George idea, and should cause hundreds of thousands, of those who lit their lamps long ago at the shrine of this theory to raise them with new hope, until the combined light spreads, attracting the eyes of men. Then they, too, may see clearly and live abundantly.

Now is the time when your response to this appeal will count, when men in their uncertainty turn towards those who truly lead, as our leader in this School leads, not only by his teaching, but with his life, spent for the cause!

All money received through this appeal will go towards

making it possible to increase the student body—for every ten dollars subscribed, one free scholarship will be offered. The donor may if he or she cares, designate the one who shall actually be the recipient of this scholarship, and the Student Council will be happy to cooperate in welcoming that student to the School.

If impossible to provide for one or more scholarships, you can provide for a partial one, trusting its completion to others who will, we believe, share with you in this plan.

If unable to do either at present, please let us have word from you, showing your interest in our newly formed—and soon to be nation-wide—Henry George Fellowship, under the leadership of Oscar H. Geiger, telling us that you join with us. It is our earnest hope that you will.

Faithfully yours,

HELEN D. DENBIGH,  
President of Student Council.  
(Assistant Principal of P. S. 30,  
Brooklyn, New York.

There follows here some freely expressed opinions by students—and witnesses of the work at the School—one of whom has presented this year twelve free scholarships to friends with whom he wished to share what he himself has found here.

Many messages from individual students and witnesses of its work accompany this, of which the following are merely specimen excerpts—space forbidding the publication of all.

"I believe that the Henry George School of Social Science under the leadership of Oscar Geiger is making one of the most important contributions ever made in the history of our movement, because it is teaching—and *thoroughly*—the very fundamentals of the Georgean philosophy.—ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE (daughter of Henry George) 277 Park Ave., New York City.

"We believe this to be the most Holy Crusade ever undertaken. \* \* \* Oscar Geiger is our University. He is our teacher of teachers."—MRS. EVA MAXWELL, 824 Waldo Ave., New York City.

"Attendance at numerous classes and meetings at the Henry George School of Social Science has convinced me of Oscar Geiger's remarkable success in interesting and converting young people to the truth of Henry George's solution. The School *must be maintained*."—CHARLOTTE SCHETTER, 11 McKinney Ave., Northport, L. I., N. Y.

"A class in economics may seem a queer place in which to find God, but I *did* find Him there, due to the clear thinking and uncompromising teaching of Oscar Geiger at the Henry George School of Social Science."—MARY SECOR, Asst. Principal, Public School 96, Bronx, New York.

"Learning the principles of Henry George under the guidance of Oscar Geiger has been the most remarkable scholastic experience of my life."—MARGARET F. BINGHAM, Teacher, Theodore Roosevelt High School, Bronx, New York.

"For some fifteen years I have been talking Single Tax to my friends, without convincing a single one. Last fall I got several of them ('hard-headed business men'

all) to enter the School with me; the condition that we would all try to follow the course without prejudice—one way or the other. Mr. Geiger convinced every one of the group and, I believe, every one else who completed even the first term.

Intellectual conviction is important enough but it is not the force which has kept our idea spreading. The sincerity of a teacher who has risked his all and is daily giving himself for a "Cause" could not fail to awaken the crusading zeal which has resulted in a voluntary movement by the present students to keep the School alive and growing.

I have yet to see a man or method perfect for any purpose—let each who can help choose his own way—but, as a Single Taxer of fairly long standing who has tested the School on himself and his friends, I cannot find strong enough expression for my conviction that the School and its director merit all the support that can possibly be given."—HENRY GEORGE ATKINSON (Grandson of Henry George) Closter Dock Road, Alpine, N. J.

Then, in this greatest of all campaigns for accomplishment in the cause of Freedom, there follows this direct undertaking and promise of the Trustees of the School:

Henceforth every dollar donated to the Henry George School of Social Science will go toward providing free scholarships to its courses.

Every ten dollar donation will establish one scholarship—including text books and tuition. Larger donations will provide that many more scholarships, and smaller donations will be combined into units of ten dollars, and thus, too, will go to creating scholarships.

Donors, if they so desire, can designate recipients of the scholarships they provide. In the absence of such designations the scholarships will be awarded to such teachers, ministers, college students and others, who cannot pay tuition fees, but whose background and interest may warrant the belief that such scholarships shall redound to the benefit of the Cause.

There is no reason now why any one who seeks the Truth shall not find it. There is no reason now why any who desire to *spread* the Truth shall not do it. Not only does the Henry George School of Social Science spread the Truth, but it selects those who are best able to further spread it, and to these it teaches the Truth so thoroughly and so fundamentally that its students in turn themselves become teachers.

If you believe that the philosophy of Henry George contains the Truth that alone can save civilization and bring freedom, security, justice and happiness to humanity, here is an opportunity for you to assist in the teaching and spreading of that philosophy among those who best can further teach and spread it.

Direct and immediate donations are required to make effective this programme, but such bequests as may establish a permanent and sustaining endowment to assure the future of the School and the continued effectiveness of its work, are also needed.

Whatever the amount of the donation, be it large or

small, every penny of it will be used as above set forth.

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE, President,  
FREDERICK CYRUS LEUBUSCHER, Vice President,  
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Treasurer,  
LEONARD T. RECKER, Chairman Finance Comm.  
WILLIAM RYAN, General Secretary.

Trustees, Henry George School of Social Science.

Outstanding in these messages is the note of *doing*; the note of *accomplishment*. This is no mere appeal for money. It is a promise of work—in fact of *work already being done*. It is the *Raising of Banners by those about to embark on a Crusade*. We give it our blessings. May we not also ask all true followers of Henry George to join the ranks of these "CRUSADERS OF A NEW CRUSADE" and help them both Spiritually and Materially?

Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

### THE LIBRARY OF THE SCHOOL

The Henry George School of Social Science is building up a library for the use of its students and for those interested in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy.

It is aiming to establish a collection of books bearing on these and allied subjects, that will be a credit to the Henry George movement and that may always be at the service of the Cause and its adherents.

Books bearing on such questions, as also books on Science, Philosophy, History, Biology, Psychology, Civics, Government, and cultural disciplines generally will be welcome and are solicited. All books on any subjects will be gratefully received.

All books donated to its library are suitably inscribed with the School's acknowledgment to the donor, unless otherwise instructed.

BOLTON HALL,  
Chairman Library Committee

## News From California

I have to report progress since my last letter to you.

The campaign for constitutional amendment is steadily progressing and widening. New persons are becoming interested in the work and, therefore, new workers added to the number of the old. In order to get the amendment upon the ballot, approximately 110,000 signatures have to be procured, and in point of fact this represents very much more work because an appreciable number of signatures will lack validity in some respects. However, despite all these difficulties, I can assure our fellow-believers that the amendment will be on the ballot and the fight on in deadly earnest. This we may accept as a fixed fact.

The interest in the principles involved grows with an increased understanding of them. There are many thousands of voters in California who today understand and appreciate the vice of taxation of industry and the propriety of taxation levied upon land values. It is astonishingly easy to make converts to the theory that a sales tax is thoroughly unjust from the standpoint of either capital or labor; to demonstrate the absurdity of taxation upon improvements when we declare that we want improvements to be made; to show that taxation upon tangible personal property defeats its production. These

are the essentials of our campaign, and in our judgment the essentials of any campaign for righteousness in taxation.

I must again refer to the fact that the Single Taxers of the country have by no means wakened up to the importance of this campaign, a campaign from a practical point of view in every way more significant than any campaign which has been heretofore entered upon in the United States or Canada or Australia. It covers a wider extent of territory, a larger population—between six millions and seven millions of people—and an infinitely greater change in the subjects and amount of taxation. This is excellently well illustrated by the fact that we propose to do away with a sales tax now producing fifty million dollars a year, and propose the abolition of taxation upon improvements and tangible personal property, which vitally affects the collection of two hundred and sixty millions of taxation levied for the benefit of California counties and cities. Improvements and tangible personal property are incidentally relieved of one hundred and eighteen millions paid by them. Of course, this great change will not be brought about within a year, but it will be entirely made at the end of five years.

In years gone by the Single Taxers have displayed a very lively interest in campaigns by no means comparable with this. Such was the case forty years ago, at the time of the struggle in Delaware, and was the case with regard to the work of the Fels Commission, although that had no such directness of aim as our California campaign.

I am aware that there are other campaigns shaping themselves up in several of the states of the Union, but, as far as my information extends, none of them have the directness of operation of the present undertaking. If we win success, and about that time I shall have something to say, we shall have carried forward to a wonderful degree the cause of freedom in taxation and freedom in production and recognition of natural rights.

Not all of our friends throughout the United States have been neglectful of the situation. We have been supplied with a large number of little pamphlets called "A Tale of Two Cities," by Prof. Harry G. Brown. This is gotten up in admirable form for circularization, contrasting the effect of the application or non-application of our theories. In addition, we have been furnished with many thousands of a fly-sheet entitled "No Slums—No Congestion," describing the experience of Sydney, and furnished by the American Association for Scientific Taxation, of New York City. This little fly-sheet is an extremely valuable propaganda.

We have also been offered other pamphlets which, while the offer was greatly appreciated, have not seemed to us of immediate force.

Will we succeed? I am justified in a strong expression of personal feeling, based on as thorough a knowledge of the situation throughout the state as it is possible for one to have at this moment. It is my deliberate judgment that only by an enormous expenditure of money and latent and flagrant misrepresentation, can we be defeated, provided we have sufficient funds to bring home to all the voters of the state the fundamental soundness of our positions, and up to the present time our own funds have been, speaking relatively to the necessities, entirely meager. I desire this letter, therefore, to act as an appeal to everyone who really cares for the cause to which he has given his service, perhaps, only up to this time, to come forward with all the financial assistance and personal sacrifice of which he may be capable, such an opportunity to give a telling blow for freedom having never arisen before and may not arise again for a long time. If you can give in hundreds of dollars, well and good. If you can give but a single dollar the gift will not fail of appreciation.

Please send any contributions either to Edgar Pomeroy, Treasurer, Pacific Building, San Francisco, or A. J. Samis, Treasurer, 2422 North Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, these acting for northern and southern California. If desired, moneys can be sent to me and I will make division between the north and south.

We shall welcome as a co-adjutor in the fight, John Lawrence Morroe, due quickly to reach California.

—JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## Richard Cobden

RICHARD COBDEN was born on June 3, 1804, in the village of Heyshot, England. His early life was hard one, although his father was a man of moderate means—a malster by profession—and for many years was the chief magistrate for the town of Midhurst. He afterwards became a farmer, but the venture proved unsuccessful and young Cobden became dependent upon his mother's relatives for support. At the age of fifteen he was given a position as a junior clerk in the counting house of his uncle in the city of London. Here he spent five years of his early life, existing upon scanty fare and sharing a portion of his income with his parents. It was during this period that he equipped himself for the intense conflict in which he was to engage in the over-throw of the obnoxious "corn laws," and so-called "protective tariffs" which had prevailed up to that time in England. At the age of twenty, with two other young men, he engaged in the calico and muslin business. Their capital amounted to about \$3,000., part of which was borrowed, and he became the commercial traveler for the firm.

About this time Charles Villiers, the English Commoner, had divided the House on the corn tax, but his motion was defeated by a majority of 187, the number being 342 against 195. The effects were depressing upon the followers of Cobden, but in 1838 the "Anti-Corn Law League" was founded. No organization in the history of the reform movement grew with such rapidity, notwithstanding the deep rooted prejudice and political hatred which had to be overcome. Cobden was the life of the organization. His wonderful energy directed the work. Papers and pamphlets were scattered by the hundreds of thousands. Speeches were made in every city, town and hamlet. The cost was enormous but the funds were raised by the public.

Up to this time Cobden had not been in Parliament, but his efforts and that of the League outside had been so great that it overthrew Lord Melbourne's government; at the general election following, he was returned to Parliament from Stockport, Lancashire, with many other prominent Leaguers, but the Conservatives were successful in Parliament. Robert Peel entered the House as Prime Minister with an overwhelming majority. Robert Villiers again divided the House and his motion was defeated by a majority of 303. Long and hard debates were entered into. The excitement throughout England was intense and many distressing scenes were enacted. The Chartists were carrying on their propaganda and Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator, carried the repeal cry into Ireland with telling effect. The distress throughout Great Britain and Ireland was so great that quite frequently the verdict of the juries was, "Death by Starvation."

The failure of the crops was bringing death and distress

on every hand. It was at this time that Cobden gave utterance to his memorable words to John Bright. Death had robbed this great statesman of his young wife. Cobden had visited his as a friend and after tendering to him his sympathy, he grasped him by the hand and said: "There are thousands of homes in England today where wives, mothers and children are dying of hunger made by the law. When your grief is past, come with me and we will not rest until we have repealed those laws." John Bright accepted the invitation and worked whole-heartedly with Cobden until the "corn laws" were repealed.

In 1843 the League spent nearly one-half million pounds educating the people. The harvest had been a good one, but in spite of this the farmers were in a very bad way. The government was compelled to inquire into the state of agriculture. The memorable session of 1846 was opened by her majesty, the late Queen Victoria, in person. The prevailing distress was the subject of debate. The duties on many articles of food were modified. Cattle food was placed on the free list and on all grain the duties were to cease in three years. Long and angry debates were again entered into, but on the morning of May 16, 1846, the Ministerial proposition was passed in both Houses and the first great victory for commercial freedom was won.

There was great rejoicing throughout England. Cobden's name was on every tongue, and he wrote to his wife that his work was done. His rugged and robust nature was wrecked by the rigorous strain that he had undergone, but the people of England came generously forward and presented him with 75,000 pounds. He intended to retire from public life and after considerable pressure was prevailed upon to go to France and negotiate commercial treaties which were of lasting benefit to both countries.

He died in 1865. The following verses appeared in a country newspaper the week after Mr. Cobden's death:

Pure-Hearted Hero of a bloodless fight!  
Clean-handed Captain in a painless war!  
Soar, spirit, to the realms of Truth and Light,  
Where the Just are!

If one poor cup of water given shall have  
Due recognition in the Day of Dread,  
Angels may welcome this one, for he gave  
A nation bread!

His bays are sullied by no crimson stain;  
His battles cost no life, no land distress'd;  
The victory that closed the long campaign,  
The vanquish'd bless'd!

No narrow patriot bounded by the strand  
Of his own Isle—he led a new advance,  
And opened, with the olive-branch in hand,  
The ports of France,

Charming base hate of centuries to cease,  
And laying upon humble piles of trade,  
Foundation for that teeming reign of Peace,  
For which he prayed.

This the sole blot on which detraction darts,  
 Willing to make his rounded fame decrease:  
 That in his inmost soul, and heart of hearts,  
 He worshipp'd Peace

But One bless'd Peacemakers long years ago;  
 And since, in common clay, or stately vault,  
 Seldom has Hero rested, stained by so  
 Superb a fault.

JOHN M. MOORE.

## Keeping Step With Progress

### IS WEALTH A CRIME?

Predicated on the concept that every person is entitled to access to natural gifts to sustain life and comfort, our forefathers adopted an arrangement for the production and distribution of wealth. Production, then as now, meant the application of human skill and energy to natural products of the land, the water and the air, to increase and multiply material things and make them more useful to mankind. The thing so produced was private property. It meant ownership which included the right of enjoyment of property and income from it.

Wealth is the material thing that we need for food, clothing, shelter and enjoyment. The more wealth any man produced the greater credit was accorded him. He enriched the whole community as well as himself. He was a benefactor.

Land and labor were the two big factors in production. Because production could be increased by cultivation and fertility of land farmers were given perpetual title to land on the theory that this policy would encourage the greatest possible production. Surplus wealth, when used to clothe, feed and house workmen, or for making tools, assists production. This we call capital. It rightly shares credit with land and labor as the three factors in the production of wealth.

The great institution of private property encouraged every person to produce wealth. It left him free to use it as he would. The only restrictions on him were that he must do nothing to deny others the rights and privileges which he himself enjoyed under the general plan, that he be honest and decent in his relations with others and share of his wealth in the necessary costs of operations in the common cause.

We just cannot turn all at once to the new theory that our present troubles all come from a surplus of wealth, and that the way to recovery is to destroy what we have already created. To plow under the third row, fallow fertile land, destroy the growing pigs, work less days in the week and less hours in the day, loaf, spend and borrow, and tax ourselves out of trouble, are notions foreign to our school of thought. They are abhorrent to our economic sense. In all experience the easy-going spendthrift has had his holiday and joy-ride spending other people's money, but the community never waited in vain for the predicted calamity.—*Rural New Yorker*.

### EVILS OF LAND MONOPOLY

The depression now universal throughout the civilized world is nothing but an extension of the conditions introduced into Ireland by land monopoly—the rack rents, barring the people from any chance to work. The condition of the Irish farmer under English rule is only an exaggeration of the condition of the American workman, the European storekeeper, the mechanic out of work.

The State of Mississippi is holding an auction of 7,000,000 acres of farm lands on which the farmers are unable to pay taxes; 60,000 farms, one-quarter of the total area of the State. Land monopoly has been as disastrous to the land owner and to the State as it has been to the man barred from the land. If the State of Mississippi would take title to these forsaken lands thus thrown into its hands, and rent them, unemployment would cease, and the State would have such revenue that it would end the frantic efforts to avoid bankruptcy.

The refusal of the Irish farmers to pay the annuities to the Irish

Government is really a refusal to let the Irish Government dispose of the property which it should hold in trust for all the people; and the refusal is a blessing. If the Irish will go back to their old laws and forget the diabolical economic system unloaded upon them by the conqueror, Ireland can lead the world once more.

Of all the evils unloaded upon Ireland, the foreign language, foreign philosophy, and foreign methods of thought, none was so deadly as the foreign system of land monopoly, and none was more effective in turning Ireland into the world's poorhouse. The wiping out of the system of land monopoly, and the holding in trust of the land of Ireland by the Irish Nation, for the Irish people, would place Ireland in the forefront of prosperity.—HENRY J. FOLEY in *Gaelic American*.

### THE SINGLE TAX IS SOUND ECONOMICS

If, as may be, the share going to the private owners of capital or land seems unduly large, it is economically a grievous wrong to interfere with the natural processes. The proper method is to let these shares flow on, and then tax them. Rent cannot be abolished, but the whole share may be taken from the landowners in taxes. All the arguments of conservative economists have failed to make a dent in this fundamental proposition of the Single Taxers, simply because it is sound economics.—PROF. NEIL CAROTHERS in *Herald-Tribune*.

### PROGRESS IN CHILE

The women of Chile 21 years of age and over have been granted the right to vote at municipal elections. They are to exercise the franchise for the first time at such elections scheduled for April next pointed out L. D. Baker, American partner in the dry goods store in Valparaiso for the last ten years.

He also observed President Alessandri of that country has approved another measure which enfranchises for all city elections resident foreigners who have lived there for the last five years. It is estimated this will affect about 25,000 foreigners, including 10,000 Italians and 2,260 Americans.

"Another new law," he added, "incorporates the main principle of Henry George's Single Tax theory for a limited period in order to promote extensive building projects. From the beginning of August 1, 1933, until 1945, this law eliminates taxes on all new buildings erected between August 1, 1933, and December 31, 1935. There is, however, a tax on the land."—*San Francisco News*.

### THE DEVASTATING BLIGHT

The prospective failure of slum clearance as a government undertaking cannot be separated from speculation in land values. Most of these rundown properties are assessed at a low figure, so that, by sufficient overcrowding, owners of slums can make a profit at the small rentals charged the poverty-stricken inhabitants. But the instant the government offers to finance housing in a blighted neighborhood, land values shoot upward. The land speculator reaps all the profit the government is asked to pocket a loss.

City governments, chambers of commerce, real estate boards—every body, practically—side with and serve the land speculator. On the whole system of assessment and taxation is built to protect him. The only visible solution is to raise assessments in blighted districts until the owners of property are compelled to unite and improve it themselves or let it be taken by the city for taxes and improved with public funds. That's a drastic solution, but the cities of America will have to come to it some day, for the alternative is the steady spread of the present devastating blight.—*St. Louis Star-Times*.

### SINGLE TAX

Henry George, the great disciple of the Single Tax philosophy, must be greatly excited in the world beyond when he realizes the agitation going on in this and other countries concerning the idea he so ably

ended of taxing all lands, allowing improvements to go exempt as the only solution of the taxing problem.

George White of Long Branch, a devout follower of George, has put the latest development on this question in writing, showing how easy it would be to change over to the Single Tax system without disturbing the present constitutional setup. We submit Mr. White's letter: "The senior assemblyman from Monmouth County, Theron McCampbell, has for some weeks asserted with considerable emphasis that the State Constitution must be amended before we can revise our taxing system. Possibly he desires to dictate a detailed, irreversible and revocable taxing scheme and have that incorporated in the new constitutional set-up. The real merit of the constitution we have, however, consists in the absence in it of any attempt to decide what kind of taxation we shall provide ourselves with as the years go on. In a number of our states there are definite tax provisions in constitutions, and in these states efforts are being made to liberalize rather than to make these provisions more restrictive.

"It must be denied that the New Jersey Constitution 'fastens' taxation upon real estate. The record shows that we can gather funds by annual taxation in various ways. The advocates of taxation according to 'ability to pay' have a clear field; those who would tax incomes have no constitutional prohibition to overcome; there can be no sales tax upon the sales of original producers.

"Just eighteen words comprise all the direction our constitution furnishes. These are: 'Property shall be assessed for taxes under general laws and by uniform rules, according to its true value.' Only property is referred to and during the last 90 years the legislature has found it possible to pass a number of general laws to be carried out under uniform rules.

"It has found it wise and possible to assess some property and then exempt it altogether. In special ways taxes are laid upon railroad property, on public utility and miscellaneous corporations and upon bank stock. This latter tax was set up in 1918 by Chapter 265, an almost similar act of 1914 being amended. The law was immediately attacked as unconstitutional in two respects but the court decided that the law should stand for the reason that the property taxed had characteristics sufficiently peculiar to warrant the legislature in separately classifying it for purposes of taxation and assessment. The annual rate upon this property is one-third of one per cent only.

"We have certain personal property exemptions. There appears to be no constitutional prohibition against exempting more or against exempting all of it if properly classified for that purpose or against fixing a special low annual rate upon it.

"Further the legislature appears to have ample opportunity to do something to comply with the widespread demand that "real estate" shall not be so heavily taxed.

"It is manifest that there are sound reasons for distinguishing between the fruits of labor comprised in improvements upon lands and the lands themselves, and the legislature, we may suppose, can classify these two items separately and tax each in a different way, improvements being but lightly burdened.

"It has been suggested that in the coming selection of a governor, the press and our citizens generally unite in calling for each candidate to adopt a way plainly to favor or oppose taking taxes from real estate improvements. This would bring about the desirable result of forcing the front one clear-cut tax reform proposal.

"There is reason to believe that one possible candidate, William L. Mill, has for years had definite opinions upon this angle of the tax question, and there is no doubt about the probable attitude of a certain natural candidate".—Seabright, N. J., *News Sentinel*.

#### WISE WORDS IN CONGRESS

"Turning to the entire City of New York we find that the assessed value of the land alone, regardless of improvements, amounts to

£987,666,435—just five and one-half times the total value of the 154,114 farms, buildings included, in the six old and thrifty States of New England—Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Where is the man who says the farmer owns the land value of this country?"—HON. F. LAMPERT, member of Congress in the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

"The justice of levying a tax upon land value lies, not merely in the fact that it will compel those who are now notoriously under-taxed by the Federal Government to bear their fair share of taxation, but in the fact that the value of land is not an earned but an unearned value. It is not the result of individual effort, but the result of collective effort. The increase in population, the progress of industry, and the growth of the community, these, and these alone, are what give value to the land. Being the product of the whole population, therefore, Government may in all equity and justice take for the benefit of all what rightly belongs to all."—HON. F. LAMPERT, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

#### SPAIN'S CRYING NEED

Spain's greatest need, Spain's crying need, is for a thorough and sweeping land reform. When the republic came into being the Socialists and the liberals led by Azana attempted to introduce agrarian changes by decree. They were blocked by the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Thereupon Azana, Prime Minister from October, 1931, to September, 1933, and still regarded by some as Spain's strong man, set to work on a new land law. He worked at it for a year and a half—meanwhile nothing happened. When Azana told me this I could scarcely suppress a smile. "A year and a half to write a law?" "Yes," he declared, "but we were busy fighting political and religious enemies. Social problems had to wait." The Socialists, too, compromised on vital economic issues in order to safeguard the republic. And today the republic is governed by those very forces against which Azana and the Socialists wished to protect it.—*The Nation*, April 18, 1934.

#### THE GREATEST SPECIAL PRIVILEGE

Henry George, who was slowly gathering world fame from his first book, "Progress and Poverty," was asked to write on "Problems of the Time" for *Leslie's Weekly*. He wrote in 1882 and 1883, shortly after a period similar to the one through which we are now passing, and, adding eight chapters to the series, he published in 1883 the book as "Social Problems." The original articles were written as a reply to a series by Prof. Sumner, of Yale, then appearing in *Harper's*. After being out of print for many years, "Social Problems" is now brought out afresh by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.

In a prophetic first chapter George shows the need for closer attention to questions of government, pointing out that with increasing opportunities come increasing responsibilities, and that it is the problem of this age to work for social justice, as it was the problem of the former age to advance mechanical invention and material convenience.

The chapters on "Political Dangers," "Public Debt," and "Functions of Government" are unique in their description of the very conditions that exist today. So appropriate are George's observations on "unemployment," "overproduction," "the machine problem," "graft," etc., that one might think the book written the last six months.

George attacked special privilege which he claimed fostered enormous fortunes on the one hand and created deepening poverty on the other. Certainly never more than in our own time have we had examples of this national weakness. George claimed that the greatest of special privileges was that which grew out of the monopoly of land, and that together with tariff and public franchise monopolies, these privileges set at naught the principles which the democracy of our Nation is founded—worse, had definitely undermined the political integrity of our Nation.—*Herald-News*, Passaic, N. J.

BY GEORGE, READ THIS, MR. MAYOR

An old book, written 51 years ago by the famous apostle of the Single Tax, Henry George, and called "Social Problems" (published by Schalkenbach Foundation), might have been written yesterday. He pointed out 51 years ago that:

"The main source of the difficulties that menace us is the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth. To this all modern inventions seem to contribute, and the movement is hastened by political corruption, and by special monopolies established by abuse of legislative power."

Very often this man Henry George, writing 51 years ago, talked with plain words that are almost impolite. Here's an example:

"We of the United States take credit for having abolished slavery. \* \* \* In all our cities there are, even in good times, thousands of men who would gladly go to work for wages that would give them merely board and clothes—that is to say, who would gladly accept the wages of slaves. \* \* \* They no longer have to drive their slaves to work; want and the fear of want do that more effectually than the lash."

"Social Problems," by Henry George, is almost prophetic in its presentation of an economic chaos that can be cured only by common sense—which nobody will try.—Pittsburgh *Sun-Telegraph*.

### AN ECONOMIC AXIOM

It is an economic axiom that land values arise with population, varying in accordance with its number and character, and that they exactly register the economic advantages which any locality may have. From this it follows that any increase which may be made in these advantages must needs accrue to the owners of the land, who can exact its full measure in rent or sale price. This fact has been repeatedly and most clearly demonstrated, classic instances being the enormous increase in land values near Ford's factories when he raised wages to a minimum of five dollars per day; the rise in rent values in the Bronx when the fare on the New York elevated railway was reduced from ten to five cents, and the same phenomenon in the slum districts of London adjacent to Waterloo bridge when the half penny toll across it was abolished.

\* \* \*

For the benefit of those not familiar with the writings of Henry George a word of explanation is in order. The reform advocated by him is generally known as the "Single Tax"—a bad name for a good thing. It arose from the fact that this reform proposes to collect economic rent by the machinery of taxation, and, as the fund thus collected would be amply sufficient for the needs of the government no other taxes would be necessary than this "Single Tax." A more logical name would have been a No Tax system, for a tax is an arbitrary impost on labor made necessary by the diversion of publicly created land values into private pockets. This iniquity once abolished, there would be no need for taxes.

But this benefit—great though it be—is small compared with the blessings which would accrue from the abolition of privilege and monopoly by which one set of men can legally exploit another. Of these, private ownership of land values is the most pernicious, as the others necessarily result from it. The abolition of other monopolies is rendered impossible so long as this parent of them all prevails.

—From *Theosophy* for April.

### THE TWO-CLASS SYSTEM

America was "founded" by the aristocrats of Europe who had to leave to save their lives. They came here, got hold of land and being "too good" to do hard work, they imported the "lower classes" to work for them. Later on they imported even black slaves.

Go through the whole political and industrial development and you will find that immigration was invited because the "better" Americans wanted cheap labor. Thus we have right from the start two classes.

The land owners and the wage slaves. The exploiters and the producers.

There never was an intention in the minds of the rulers of America to do away with the two-class system. Even prohibition was so drawn that the "better class" could get all the booze they wanted but the workers were to be kept sober so they could produce wealth for the landlords and the owners of industry. Lincoln did away with chattel slavery; now we have to do away with landlordism which makes slaves out of the rest of us.—*The Broom*, San Diego, Calif.

### THE PROBLEM OF PLENTY

The plain fact is—a fact shameful beyond words—that we make plenty the very occasion and reason for plunging millions into want. "Overproduction," we call it. We dare not say, we dare not even believe, that, with millions unfed, there is too much food, with millions illclad there is too much clothing. But, by assuming or pretending that our system of spreading plenty is the best possible system, we can face the awful fact of people fainting and dying for lack of supplies which can be provided in any quantity with no greater effort than the switching of power on to the appropriate machinery. And, so doing, we are self-righteously vain that we are better than our predecessors of ancient time who exalted the tradition of the elders as an excuse for denying the plain command of the moral law.

—A. C. CAMPBELL, in *Canadian Unionist*.

### JAMES G. BLAUVELT

James Gilmor Blauvelt, owner of the Hohokus Bleachery is a man of some means and an altruist in politics, a "Happy Warrior" (as Carl Ek calls him in his column today) who conceives it his duty to carry on where George L. Record left off, preaching the Henry George theory of land taxation and harrying the public utilities in his campaign for the "public ownership of natural monopolies."

If Senator Kean would debate issues with Mr. Blauvelt, the Republican nominee would be the lawyer-industrialist from Ridgewood. But Senator Kean won't debate. You can be sure of that.

—*Herald-News*, Passaic, N. J.

### FROM EUGENE HARLAN READ'S BROADCAST

In this era of social experiments, the city of London is considering one of more than ordinary importance. William Walcot, a noted architect, wants to straighten the Thames River in the most densely populated section of the city, reclaiming for the city a strip of land three and a half miles long and one-sixth of a mile wide. Cut up into city lots, this should create for the city of London, a property value of five or six billion dollars.

A similar enterprise is taking place in Holland, where land is being reclaimed by the building of dykes, increasing the useable area of the nation by about one-seventh. In the United States we have many such enterprises on a smaller scale. Chicago's lake front is one example. Levee projects, protecting millions of acres in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, furnish other examples. So also do the reclaiming of submarginal lands and the conservation of timberlands by the government. Our great engineering projects, like Shoshone Dam in Wyoming, Boulder Dam on the Colorado River and the Tennessee Valley project, cap the climax in the United States. The engineering features of all of these projects are fascinating, but the possibility for social reform that they suggest is much more so.

Take the new land values created in London for example. Henry George, once candidate for mayor of New York, told the world fifty years ago that these values are the natural property of government because they are created by the presence and activity of the people. Will London, if it reclaims this land, retain ownership of it and thus relieve business of taxes, or will it turn it over to private owners and watch the increased profits go into private pockets? Henry George has hundreds of thousands of followers in England today. That is

the question that they are asking the governments of London and of Great Britain.

The land question has arisen in another striking form in New York, as Commissioner Post goes after the tenement problem. The *New York Evening Post*, in a front page editorial, declares that one million eight hundred thousand families still live in "old law" tenements, and that fifty per cent of the tenements condemned by the commission of 1885 are still standing, forty-nine years after they should have been torn down. The *Post* proposes a comprehensive programme that includes tax exemption.

## Chicago Again to Entertain Henry George Congress

BECAUSE of the remarkable success of last year's convention in Chicago, the executive committee of the Henry George Foundation, after very careful deliberation, has decided to accept another very cordial invitation from the Chicago Single Tax Club and has set the dates for October 8, 9 and 10. The other principal contenders for the honor were Toronto and Washington and strong arguments were presented on behalf of both of these cities. But because of Chicago's central location and the strong support which the local Single Tax organization is able to give, it was felt that the Windy City offered the best assurance of a successful convention, both in point of attendance and of prospects of developing a strong programme.

Clayton J. Ewing, President of the Single Tax League of Illinois and Vice-President of the Henry George Foundation, has again consented to serve as Chairman of the Convention Committee and will give his hearty cooperation in all preparations for this year's gathering. The continuance of the Century of Progress Exposition for another year with a number of added attractions was one of the factors which led to the choice of Chicago for a second return engagement and on account of the Fair, the railroads will offer special low fares from all points throughout the season, which will substantially reduce the cost of the usual convention trip and a good representation from all sections of the country is anticipated.

Chairman Ewing announces that the Congress Hotel will be the convention headquarters this year and offers special rates for our delegates. This hotel has a splendid location on Michigan Boulevard near the heart of Chicago and is very close to the World's Fair grounds. It was the Congress Hotel which housed our first Chicago convention in 1928 and all who attended that convention will recall the fine cooperation given by the management.

The officers of the Henry George Foundation are now busy with preliminary preparations for the next Henry George Congress and special efforts will be made to arrange a programme of discussion that will be both timely and profitable to all interested in the advancement of the Single Tax movement in America. There will be reports of progress from workers in various sections. There will also be a number of prominent speakers on the programme, including Pittsburgh's new Single Tax Mayor,

and probably some members of the Pittsburgh City Council as well as representatives of the Mayor's cabinet. It is hoped that the national administration will also be represented by some distinguished spokesman, and outstanding leaders and workers in the American Single Tax movement will be chosen to present various phases of the Georgist programme.

All friends of the cause who are in a position to participate are urged to make early plans to visit Chicago the week of October 8, and the officials of the Century of Progress Exposition have been asked to set aside October 11 as Henry George day at the Fair.

Those desiring further information or having suggestions to offer, may communicate either with Clayton J. Ewing, Chairman of the Convention Committee, 4046 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, or with Secretary Percy R. Williams at the office of the Henry George Foundation, 238 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

## The Law of Similars and The Law of Economics\*

NOTE: In this abstract Dr. Hayes has presented a remarkably clear exposition of the case for homoeopathy as it might be practised in such a Utopian state of society as set forth in the writings of Henry George.

Those of us who have been living in a practical enclavial environment during these times of depression can well bear witness to the validity of the author's claims that more of those possessed of true Georgian principles should experience the many benefits to be derived from the enclavian order.

The true Georgian, while a practical idealist, cannot fail, if he carry this philosophy to its ultimate conclusion, to be a true Utopian. Men have dreamed of Utopia since the world began, but few indeed have been the constructive movements that would bring such an ideal state into manifestation. Does the philosophy of Henry George offer any encouragement toward its consummation? Many wise thinkers in the past fifty years (such a brief period in the evolution of men and ideals!) have found comfort in the belief that if this idea of land emancipation be put into operation on a sufficiently broad scale, great strides might be made in the general betterment of the social order in which we live.

This paper of Dr. Hayes' presents a valuable side light upon the place of the physician in the economic order. It gives me great pleasure to add my endorsement to its content, and to commend it to the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM. The author of this paper I know to be a physician of wide experience and a wise counsellor. Though but a recent convert to the Single Tax idea he informs me that he would at any time gladly exchange his present holdings for an equity under the enclavian regime. Were such an attitude of mind to become more universal the dawn of the New Day might soon brighten the dark horizon of world conditions.

Tahanto, Harvard, Mass.

B. C. WOODBURY, M. D.

\*Abstract from *Homoeopathy In The Medical and Social Economy*, by Royal E. S. Hayes, M. D., read before The International Hahnemannian Association, Chicago, Ill., June, 1933.

HAVING considered the immediate stimuli of the medical furore let us consider the more permanent causes that underlie the whole situation.

But first let us go back a little. We have said that the

present medical weakness is partly within itself because of its inefficiency through disregard of the vital law of organisms and of the dynamic laws of medicinal action. That harmful practices cause, in the efforts to progress, division into specialties, the fungus like growth of institutions, the anomalous inventions of cults, the blind and reckless efforts of the laity to cure themselves and of drug vendors to coax them on. That these elements competing among themselves while disregard of economic law also goes on, must, like other institutions of our monopolistic civilization, be broken up or its victims enslaved by the very institutions which they have created. We thus see that the primary cause of their destruction or decay inheres in their make up and erroneous function. Time will prove that.

Now let us look at the other law that is universally disregarded and which together with the general ignorance of therapeutic law will effect drastic changes in medical institutions. Like the infraction of the dynamic and vital laws it causes untold sufferings, wracking the whole world with innumerable miseries, raising with its perverted force peoples and civilizations to outward heights only to be destroyed or levelled again by the faults within their own construction, just as the faults of the earth's crust allow it to become adjusted occasionally in obedience to the spherical law of its construction. I am speaking of the economic law.

There is a remarkable similarity between the conditions of the economic law and the homoeopathic law. Like the homoeopathic law it is disregarded by the millions, being really intelligible to only a few; like the homoeopathic law it is too simple and plain to be readily appreciated, it is overlooked. As with the homoeopathic law many who do know of it do not understand it, believing it to be out of date, futile, dogmatic, visionary, that it is a mere palliative or invention, that it is safer to wait for it to become in vogue or to have an "accredited" leader. As with homoeopathy there were glimpses of the economic law during post-mediaeval times. Like homoeopathy it was finally thought through by one man from its phenomena to its rule of application. Like homoeopathy, its philosophy was built up in a written thesis with exact terminology and beautiful language by irrefutable logical steps. At first it made rapid progress, then went into comparative obscurity just as homoeopathy has done. Like homoeopathy it has suffered from the distractions of modern modes and expedients; its advancement has split on the rock of appearances because men have not yet seen that the truth of appearances is but relative while the truth of natural principle is absolute. Like homoeopathy it cannot be accepted on a wide and permanent basis until intelligence of vision and reason rises above the intelligence with things and technique. As with homoeopathy the economic conquest must be a peaceful and reasoning one; like homoeopathy it may slumber yet a long time, but spread rapidly when it does really start;

and it will go far, farther than one can now realize, toward creating that state which all men desire in their hearts but mention lightly in their speech, Eutopia, as it is called.

Why may not an Eutopia on earth be possible at some time? Is not the earth beautifully and wonderfully adapted with time and experience to evolve and perfect both environment and senses? How rapt the adaptation of the senses for their objects, how ideal the natural relation between all the resources of earth and the capabilities of man. How wonderfully adapted as a home for evolution and development, from the most fixed of inorganic elements to the rarest expression of the artistic faculties, the inspired qualities of intellect or the purest sentiments of morality. How potent this planet is for the manifestation of good within the limits of its constitution. Looking at the harmony of forms, of order, of construction, beauty, of the varied conceptions of nature, of the balance, association, cause and sequence of things, of the boundless living energy unfolding from the inner depths to its surface, dare one say that the constitution of earth with its protege man, is not a potent matrix for the development of an Eutopian existence?

Then why not search in the constitution and principles as well as the modes of things? Why not reason out the causes of this disparity between the brilliant career to which man might attain compared to his present childish subserviency to the very forces that should expand the environment and free the spirit? Samuel Hahnemann with his keen perception and intuition looked through the crudities of allotherapy and saw the vital dynamics of organism and the guiding principle of its cure with medicines. He wrote of the wrongs of vital energy and its principles of cure with such careful thought and positive dictation that it should remain as a guide for medical practice as long as medicine lasts. So Henry George, with equal intelligence and devotion analysed the social and economic states, defining with beautiful language and the most exact terminology the principles of social and economic relations. He traced these findings step by step to the fundamental wrong from which the greater part of the troubles of civilization have come. And with the prescience of a Hahnemann he saw not only the law of economics but also the simple, practical remedy to adjust the distorted economic forces that have wracked humanity and have made the world a comparatively unfit place to live in.

George's thought and influence endow him as one of the great social philosophers of the world and he is coming to be recognized as such. Many have tried to dispute the conclusions of his philosophy but like those of the Organon not one has ever been refuted.

The economic law in normal operation might be stated in one phrase as Equal Opportunity for All; and its operation is based on and accords with the natural constitution of the human faculties. It satisfies the demand of Justice, Independence, Self Respect, Social Dignity

Personal Ambition or Adventure, the Normal Desire for Gain and the natural Love of Competition and can hardly fail to dispense the amenities of peace and good will over the earth. It frees labor (meaning all who work) and gives it its produce. It returns to capital that which is due it and renders to the community that which is publicly due. But it effaces private monopoly, that age-old monster which has lain underneath the struggling feet of men, absorbing the greater part of their efforts, causing the few to become richer and the poor comparatively poorer. In this country it is now reducing its great middle class to a lower status.

In these distorted economic processes we are all unwittingly guilty for it is the disregarded law, the economic system that is at fault; men are but the instruments of perverted economic energy. The time is at hand when we must recognize the law of economics and put it into operation or sink deeper into degradation and the chasms formed by explosions.

The remedy, which I will now mention, is so simple that the implications usually escape one at first thought, but once seen it is never effaced. It is one of the few great revelations that have come to this writer. It is simply this; to secure just distribution by rendering to the community the annual value of land locations which accrues as the result of association and to refrain from levying tribute on the efforts and products of men. This involves secondarily the community ownership of natural monopolies, that is, those activities in which by their nature there can be no competition.

By levying on land values alone, the community or common treasury receives that which accrues as the result of association, and to which it is rightfully entitled; the worker remains in possession of his earnings or their equivalent to which he is rightfully entitled; and capital (meaning everything which is used in labor) receives its rightful percentage. The effect of this is that unused land is not held for higher prices, it becomes low in selling price and is thereby thrown into use; while labor not only retains its produce or equivalent, but is not forced to compete with itself; and capital is not hampered by the crises caused by capitalized monopoly, the frozen land values. Here we have the complete circulation of created wealth and the facile industrial function that practically runs itself.

He who thinks upon this just distribution in contrast to the unjust customary distribution can understand all the troubles of society and see how all the superficial palliatives of the present and past are merely postponing for a short time the now inevitable change. What shall that inevitable be, peace and opportunity or more restriction and destructive clashes?

I have presumed to present this thesis here because Hahnemannians work with natural law and make practical use of its principles. There need be no apology for this standpoint. If any one be critical let him do first

hand investigation. I urge upon you all a study of the direct and simple economic principles of Henry George. Being based upon natural law, without those principles one cannot comprehend the forces at work, those that cause booms and depressions and all the apparently confused economic and financial workings that are seen in this critical age.

Physicians especially, if they desire to retain independence, self respect, and initiative in their work need a definite critique in mind for economics as well as for medicine. There is such a seething of schemes, opinions, beliefs, notions, in operation and proposed, that merely pass wealth from one hand to the other without creating any new wealth, that one needs to know what the basic cause is, to understand what is going on, to judge of the new moves, to apprehend the effects of conditions that arise and to see into the future. Understanding the economic principles as George explained them more than a half century ago confers this ability just as Hahnemann's does in medicine.

Physicians in the most professional and humane sense of the term need individual independence, freedom of practice, the healthy stimulation of personal earning and the life of competition, to render their best service. If they may have these conditions medicine will not only retain its dignity of giving service but by coming to know and use the principles of therapeutic law shall recover by peaceful conquest the confidence and loyalty of the millions which they have lost; and relegate that which is good in the cults to its proper sphere in mutually helpful cooperation.

In conclusion, let me appeal earnestly to all who have not already done so to study this economic philosophy as carefully and critically as possible, the more critically the better. Understanding is the light of knowledge and without that light knowledge is hardly more than—shall we say twilight—or shall we say, dawn?

ROYAL E. S. HAYES, M. D.

## Chas. O'Connor Hennessy

**F**ORMER Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy, for many years a political power in Bergen County—always on the side of civic advancement—retires at the end of this week at the age of 73 as president of The Franklin Society of New York, which he helped to form forty-six years ago while a newspaper editor.

The Democratic Party had an ideal spokesman as long as it had a man of the calibre of Hennessy to represent it in Bergen. In Trenton, Hennessy, as member of the Assembly and later as state senator, proved a tower of strength in the days of Woodrow Wilson.

New Jersey, and Bergen County in particular, suffered a great loss when this man of vision and rich experience in business and politics left the state to become a resident of New York. As this elder statesman, amid the benedictions of his host of admirers, enters well-earned retirement the hope will be fervent that in the days to come his voice may still be heard as a guide in the handling of the difficult problems a new day.—*Jersey Journal*, March 27, 1934.

## Bourbon Economics

**A**UTOMOBILE owners, who are compelled by our legislators to bear the brunt of the expense for upkeep of roads which increase the value of contiguous lands, will be interested to learn that the arguments advanced to uphold this practice are precisely the same as those advanced by the pre-revolutionary nobility of France in favor of the *corvee*, the forced labor of peasants in building of roads, and against the proposal of Turgot to substitute for this a tax on land values. Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University and author of "The French Revolution," reproduces in this work a discussion on that matter between Turgot and his leading opponent, Miromesnil, the Keeper of the Seals. The argument has a strangely modern sound.

Miromesnil—The proprietors are not the only class benefited by good roads. . . . The simple peasant goes on foot on a good road more easily than on a bad one and loses less time.

Turgot—The Keeper of the Seals must permit me to believe that the pleasure of walking on a well made road can scarcely compensate the peasant for making it without being paid.

Miromesnil—A man with nothing but his hands contributes scarcely anything to taxes.

Turgot—Here we are concerned only with the *corvee*, but certainly the man who has only his hands contributes to the taxes in the most exorbitant proportion. A man who has nothing to live upon for himself and his family but what he gains by his labor and from whom we extort fifteen days of his time, giving him hard work, no wages and no food, contributes really too much to the making of the roads.

While Miromesnil was arguing that "a man with nothing but his hands contributes scarcely anything to the taxes" the peasants of France were paying in taxes, tithes and feudal dues fully four-fifths of their earnings. While his modern prototype argues that "the man who owns no property contributes nothing to the cost of government" the greater part of 13 billions of governmental expenditures in the United States is raised by taxes on labor and the laborer must pay in addition more billions in tribute to privileged interests, besides billions in ground rents. The proposal to abolish taxes on labor and use the rental value of land for governmental expenses finds the spiritual descendants of Miromesnil on the job.—SAMUEL DANZIGER.

**A** GOVERNMENT that can not afford to abolish unfair taxes at once is one that no people can afford to maintain.

**T**O priming of a pump a sucker is essential. And the N.R.A. is said by its supporters to be like priming a pump.

**A**MERICAN statesmanship—Vigorous denunciation of socialism and communism. Then urging and supporting government control of production and distribution.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### A QUERULOUS OUTPOURING\*

Written in diary form this is a gossipy, querulous, complaining volume. The author has a bagfull of animosities, disagreements and dislikes. Even the song of the whippoorwill irritates him. With curious wrong-headedness, or out of sheer perversity he sneers at the temporary ineffectualness of Woodrow Wilson's idealism while professing a liking for Clemenceau. Out of like perversity he has a good word for Frederick the Great. One would look for a word of sympathy for President Wilson's dream even if Clemenceau's frank scoundrelism compels his admiration. Such admiration need not have blinded him to the great vision of Woodrow Wilson which he strove to make a reality.

But that is Nock. Nothing really pleases him. "American women do not attract me as a rule," he says, Dickens' Christmas stories seem hollow to him. He speaks of the greatest biography since Boswell—Harry George's Life of his father—as a book of which "the best that can be said of it is that it is competent." Though we are living in a most interesting period of the world's history amid a swirl of rushing events at the end of which great things impend, Mr. Nock says he would have chosen to be born in Paris in 1805 and depart in 1880, and he speaks of this as the most interesting period in the world's history." Why?

We must be very hesitant in questioning Mr. Nock too closely for he tells on page 29 that he was "right nine times out of ten." For fear this might leave too great a hiatus he hastens to add, "oftener than that."

Mr. Nock is a Henry George man but he is not eager to apply the remedy. Familiar as we are with the eccentricities of many who profess a belief in our principles and yet who are in deadly fear of them, this does not surprise us greatly. He says of the Single Tax that "the people would not know what to do with it if they got it," and with this shallow sophistry dismisses it. That institutions make men seems not to have occurred to him.

Mr. Nock gives us the idea that he accepts the wild rumor that McKinley's assassination was procured because McKinley was about to break on the protective tariff policy. Mr. Nock who does not believe anything is singularly credulous here.

He says of Henry George's speeches: "How flat they fall on a modern audience." Just the contrary is true. Yet he calls him "one of the half dozen minds of the 19th century."

"George's biography," he says, "makes it clear that he knew singularly little about human beings and the working of their minds." Nevertheless, Mr. Nock hastens to reassure us that something might be done with the fundamentals of his doctrine if the right people too, it in hand." We find that phrase, "the right people," subtly intriguing.

We hasten to record our conviction that Albert Jay Nock is of no use to us. Speaking again of Henry George he says, "What a great man he was and how well he managed to get himself misjudged and forgotten." The gospel of futility which Mr. Nock preaches in various forms throughout this volume is partly to be traced to the fact that he is not in touch with the movement. He is in complete ignorance of what is being done. The philosophy he preaches is the very negation of any real conviction on the question or of any influence he may be capable of wielding. He can be of no help to us in advancing the cause. He would do us a great service if he refrained from mentioning it. We say this because it is rumored that he has in contemplation the writing of a life of Henry George.

\*A Journal of These Days, by Albert J. Nock. Clo. Large 12mo. 309 pp. Price \$2.75. William Morrow and Co., New York.

It must not be understood that the present reviewer condemns this book in its entirety. Indeed there is much that is valuable in it to those who will skim through it. There are many delicious touches of which the following is an example from page 191, where speaking of a work by Cardinal Polignac he says:

"I used to own a fine copy, but old Prof. Peters of the University of Virginia, made off with it thirty years ago, and refused to give it back—as fine a piece of broad-daylight, open-air stealing as anyone ever saw. He died a year or so afterwards, and I never recovered the book. May the devil bless him."

And this is even better:

"Today I learned ex-President Hibben of Princeton is dead. He may now be where he can talk over things with his cousin Paxton Hibben, but I have my doubts especially if he sees him coming. I think the first question Paxton would ask him is whether he climbed over the pearly gates or burrowed under them."

There are some wise words on the policies of the Roosevelt administration and its acts. And there is an enthusiastic mention of Prof. George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George." "The book on Henry George that I have been asking for these many years at last published by MacMillan." But he spoils it by adding, "The truth is that no one takes any interest in George's philosophy or can be got to take any." We venture to submit to our readers the question whether that has been their experience. No one can convince others of a truth unless he has confidence in it himself. He cannot find out whether others are receptive to any degree unless he himself carries to them his own conviction of the truth he is trying to impart.

J. D. M.

#### SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Here is a new printing, with a newly prepared index, of "Social Problems" by Henry George. It is published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 9—11 Park Place, New York City, at one dollar. It is accurately described as "the best introduction to Mr. George's economic and social teaching."

This collection of essays was originally written for *Leslie's Weekly* in 1882 and 1883 under the title "Problems of the Times." Subsequently they were collected and published under the title "Social Problems."

They read today as if written for today, prophetic in their insight, simple and clear in their explanations. A few of the titles show how startlingly these problems of nearly fifty years ago assume their place as discussions of present day difficulties, with their real and fundamental solutions. Note a few of the titles, Political Dangers, Public Debt, Functions of Government, Over-production, etc.

There are minds sufficiently familiar with economic reasoning to grasp the essentials of "Progress and Poverty." But we fancy that the average mind might well begin with "Social Problems." It is easy reading, interesting as a novel, and throws a flood of light upon those questions which are as vital now as in the years when they were written.

The following should arouse the curiosity in the minds of those not familiar with his teaching to examine one of the great works of Henry George:

"So true it is that poverty does not come from the inability to produce more wealth, that from every side we hear that power to produce an excess of the ability to find a market; that the constant fear seems to be not that too little, but that too much will be produced. Is not a large part of our machinery constantly idle? Are there not, even at what we call good times, an immense number of unemployed men who would gladly be at work producing wealth, if they could only get the opportunity? Do we not, even now, hear from every side of embarrassment from the very excess of productive power, and of combinations to reduce production? This seeming glut of production runs through all branches of industry, and is evident all over the civilized world."

#### ADDRESSED TO MOTHERS\*

A book has recently been published by Dorrance & Co. of Philadelphia, that should be of interest to Single Taxers. It is the work of John O'Kelly Smith and is entitled "Freedom for Women."

While the main object of the book is to convince the reader that mothers should be pensioned, the greater part of it is dedicated to explaining how adequate funds for this compensation may be collected, i. e., by installing the economic system known as the Single Tax.

Many believers in that sane and civilized programme may feel that when it is adopted there will not be the necessity for singling out one group as particularly in need of compensation. Rare indeed are the fathers who would not provide for their wives and children, if they were capable of so doing. Under an order where workers will get what they really earn, where the cost of living will be far below what it is now, where it will be no difficult thing to save against a rainy day, there may not be the need for the State to provide particularly for mothers.

But under present conditions, a pension to relieve the young mother from being forced to earn her living, as now she is so often compelled to do and frequently at the expense of her health; to finance her so that she can remain home with the baby or babies who need her unremitting care; a pension that would spare the old mother, perhaps no longer capable of working even for herself, the agony of knowing that she is a financial burden on her children, a dependence that is often degrading—such a pension under today's maladjustment of society, would be a step toward civilization.

This cry for freedom for mothers one might expect to come from a woman instead of from an old bachelor and Mr. Smith's understanding of the subject and appeal for help is therefore particularly commendable.

In a letter he writes:

"In 1900 I went on the road as a traveling shoe salesman. I have followed this work continuously since—twenty years in Iowa and Missouri, then twelve years in the extreme Southwest and the last two years in Florida. In the fall of 1912, while in a little town in Iowa, the idea that the state should provide a certain income for mothers came to my mind and lodged there. Wretchedly prepared for writing I went to Wallace Rice of Chicago for literary assistance. I was constantly trying to figure out a method whereby the state could provide an income for mothers. One day Wallace inquired if I had ever read "Progress and Poverty." I had not, but at once bought a copy. And that was the commencement of my serious reading and research.

I soon concluded to join my idea to Single Tax and write a little book."

Mr. Smith shows a knowledge of the ethical side of the Georgean creed as well as the fiscal. He makes a capable fight for the adoption of the Single Tax and his book might well be used for propaganda in strongholds of feminism and among crusaders for civic welfare, where possibly a more scientifically built plea might seem too dry or erudite.

Certainly all imbued with a longing to better present conditions will be glad for this voice raised in protest and supplication.

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE.

\*Freedom for Mothers, by John O'Kelly Smith, 212 Pages, Cloth. Price \$1.75. Dorrance and Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

## Correspondence

### ANSWERS HIS OWN QUESTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the March-April copy, handed me by a friend, I find on page 59, in reply to John C. Rose the following: "Under the Single Tax there would be no mortgages on land. Mortgages would be against buildings and improvements only."

I have long been a student of the Single Tax and am convinced that the purpose in the mind of Henry George was to establish communism in the ownership of land (a purpose with which I am in full accord). However on page 403 of the fourth edition of "Progress and Poverty," I find the following, second paragraph: . . . "Let the individuals who now hold it (the land) still retain possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. . . . Let them continue to buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. . . ."

Now it occurs to me that your statement above does not square with

that of George. If the person has the right to buy, sell, bequeath, or devise, anything in his possession, it is a corollary that he also has the right to mortgage or pledge the thing which he may sell, bequeath, or devise. How do you explain this?

I realize that when the Single Tax becomes one hundred per cent effective so as to confiscate all rent, as George further elucidates in the same paragraph, there will be no inducement for a land mortgage on the land but in the meantime when the tax takes only a portion of rent it seems that the point I make would apply.

Musselshell, Mont.

LAVERNE HAMILTON.

#### REPLY

It is rarely that a questioner answers his own question. The last paragraph of Mr. Hamilton's letter is an almost complete answer to the doubts he expresses above.

As Mr. Hamilton correctly quotes, the reply to John C. Rose in the March—April issue stated that "Under the Single Tax there would be no mortgages on land." Taking "only a portion of rent" that Mr. Hamilton postulates is not Single Tax; there is therefore no difference between him and us.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

#### JAMES MALCOLM COMES BACK AT US

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I regret that in your reply to my letter on the NRA in your issue of March—April you totally misinterpret the main purpose of that communication and unintentionally place me in a false light before your readers. Right at the outset I drew attention to public development, under the auspices of President Roosevelt, of such great enterprises as the Tennessee Valley water power, the St. Lawrence power, the Columbia River power and espousal by him of Boulder Dam in the Colorado River, as being quite in line with the Single Tax philosophy, in that they liberate natural resources for the benefit of the people.

In your reply you ignore this section of my letter and proceed to condemn codes, regulation and other devices of the NRA to meet emergencies and then add: "We did not dream that it ever would be necessary to argue this way with a Henry George man." Well, it certainly was not necessary in my case as I distinctly referred to water power development as logically worthy of praise by Single Taxers, and as an important part of their programme. I also made plain that codes, regulation, etc. should be understood as temporary in their character. In my nearly fifty years of Single Tax activity I do not need to be reminded of the vital difference between emergency or superficial remedies and those which are fundamental, but I shall continue to protest against the mistaken policy of indiscriminate and unjust condemnation of a President just because he does not agree with us on everything. I ask again: Why not give him credit for the stand he has taken on natural or utility monopolies? I recall that our platform contained a declaration for public ownership and operation of these monopolies. Is that declaration to be cast aside and forgotten just when Roosevelt has made it one of the great issues of our time?

Speaking of subjects supposed to be relevant or irrelevant in the consideration of the Single Tax, I recall that Henry George about forty years ago did not hesitate in the old *Standard* and in letters to the daily press to call upon his friends to support Grover Cleveland for president because he showed hostility to the humbug protective tariff. Mr. George took the practical and I think the wise stand of supporting candidates and parties when they showed a desire to go at least a part of the way toward economic freedom. Cleveland probably knew little about the Single Tax but that did not lead Mr. George to dub his accompanying ideas as "monstrous." I submit there is infinitely more reason for us to encourage President Roosevelt in what he is trying to do, notwithstanding the mistakes there may be in the codes, than when Henry George gave his support to Grover Cleveland.

The same was true in the presidential campaign of 1896 when Mr. George heartily by tongue and pen advocated the election of William J. Bryan although he did not agree with him on the money question.

He did this because of Bryan's aggressive attitude against privilege of all kinds and I venture to say that the great mass of Single Taxers agreed with him.

Albany, N. Y.

JAMES MALCOLM.

#### REPLY

Which only goes to prove that it's all in the point of view—The activities of the administration with reference to the Tennessee Valley the St. Lawrence and Columbia Rivers and Boulder Dam have already so raised land values that speculations (even of the wild cat variety) have very definitely manifested themselves. Were it not for the depression we would have seen in the Tennessee Valley a repetition of the land booms in the California of Henry George's day, and all the resulting evils.

Unless the rent of land is taken by the government all improvements redound only to the benefit of land owners. To the extent that water power is developed so that it renders a service to the community rent rises and wages fall.

The only condition under which the improvements Mr. Malcolm endorses can be of benefit to the people is if the rent these improvements create is taken by the people and better still, of course, if the rent is taken by the people.

The platform declaration Mr. Malcolm speaks of was made in conjunction with the declaration that the rent of land belongs to the people and must be collected by government. This was the unequivocal position of Henry George.

If it is the ownership and operation of public utilities that we want (and all the corruption and evils that go with it—for they are inevitable under our present system of taxation) let us say so, but let us avoid calling down blessings upon them in the name of Single Tax Single Taxers.

"By their fruits ye shall know them," seems just as helpful and just as valid now as when it was spoken. Thus far the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt has not brought forth fruit that follows of Henry George can recognize as health-giving or life-sustaining of any permanent good to man.

It is of course a moot question whether it was the course of wisdom to throw our forces to the support of William Jennings Bryan in 1896. A large number of representative Single Taxers did not follow Henry George in this policy and among them were such men as Arth Stephenson, Frank Stephens, C. B. Fillebrown, William Lloyd Garrison, Whidden Graham, and others—quite a notable group, not to mention the more humble figure of the present editor of this paper.

Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

#### SAYS A GOOD WORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

*The Times* is in no way friendly to the cause which we of the *Geographical* persuasion are committed, but it has no prejudices concerning our beliefs. We should be appreciative of this liberal breadth of vision and when we read a communication in *The Times* setting forth the case of Henry George it is our duty (and also an opportunity) to write the editor and let him know there is a lot of us who are of the same belief. My batting average, in getting letters into the columns of *The Times* is only about 300 per cent. I suppose I present the case too often. Nevertheless, to be fair, we should realize that space in *The Times* is decidedly valuable and that other views have to be given as well as our own. So, please Mr. Editor, will you not make a note of this in your columns and impress upon your readers the fact that our cause can be aided no end by commending all letters or articles which *The Times* may see fit to print which bear on the Georgian philosophy in the right way and spirit. We should always be ready to stand up and be counted and prove to all editors that there is a lot of us in existence. I was a member of *The Times* staff for five years. I know what that means.

Westfield, N. J.

EDWIN J. JONES

## NOT IDLE IN TEXAS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

We have been getting lots of effective publicity since last November. As you know cotton is our chief agriculture product. When Mr. Wallace and associates decided on cotton acreage reductions for this year our people suddenly discovered we had a "tenant problem" and "land problem." Since that discovery several of our leading daily papers and our leading agricultural paper *Farm and Ranch* have not only given much attention to the subject and space to correspondents, but have editorially treated the Single Tax as the fundamental remedy.

In our signed articles for the country papers we have to be careful in treatment of the subject. These have been going out with some regularity for several years. Editors tell me that their readers comment on what Black says. We have gone far in removing the chance of frenzied fear among farmers and townspeople such as we had in Missouri in 1912.

San Antonio, Texas.

WM. A. BLACK.

## SHARE CROPPERS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

According to *Harper's Magazine* for April the *Charleston News and Courier*, in answer to the Powell and Cutler article, had the following to say:

"Whatever else the landlords of the South may have done, or failed to do, they have always heretofore managed to keep their share croppers out of the breadlines, off the public charity lists, and as much cannot be said for any other group of employers. If Northern critics and federal agencies would only let them alone, they would successfully continue in the task of keeping the Southern farm negro, only our generations removed from the African jungles, from becoming a public charge."

I am very much interested in understanding the meaning of the term "share cropper," for upon that depends whether the *News Courier* is sincere or just crabbing at criticism from north of Mason and Dixon's line. If a share cropper in South Carolina, or any other part of the South, means a farmer who is permitted to farm another man's land and pay a share of his crop for the privilege without receiving any aid of any kind from the landlord, then its answer to Messrs. Powell and Cutler, to *Harper's*, and to Northerners in general, is not only naive, but also amusing if not downright hypocrisy. Is it possible that the negroes in the African jungle have to depend upon breadlines or other forms of charity because of the lack of landlords to permit them to crop share? The lives of the Zulus of South Africa, and our own uni, Hopi, and Navajo Indians show the absurdity of its position. We have heard many declarations in defense of private ownership of land but this beats them all in asininity.

The question of man's right to sustain life in his body is not a question of race or color. It concerns all men. White share croppers in Porto Rico, in Virginia, or anywhere else, are all laborers as well as all workers in any line of endeavor, and they all must pay tribute to private owners of land in order to labor to live. They are victims of a system which has culminated in this depression. But what do we find when men are courageous enough to point out the damnable injustice of such a system, a system that allows certain men to be parasites upon others? We find among other elements in the storm of abuse that follows such disclosures, Southern gentlemen, endowed with a normal amount of intelligence, ignoring the great injustice of the supporting of a large class of landlords by the labor of land users, and pretending to be offended by the Northerners' reference to Southern injustice to negroes.

It would be more fitting for the *News and Courier* to work and endeavor to make the landlords of the entire nation self-supporting by compelling them to use their land. This can be done only by collecting the entire economic rent from them. When that is done we

shall hear no more of the benevolence of those who charge us for permission to support the life in our bodies.

JOHN LUXTON, Henry George School of Social Science.

## JUDGE RALSTON ADDS TO HIS NEWS LETTER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

If not too late for your coming issue, permit me to add a few lines. A note just received from Mr. George W. Patterson at Los Angeles informs me of the very successful progress of our movement at that point. The leaders of the unemployed cooperatives' organizations, which number several hundred thousand, are taking an active interest in pushing our amendment, and the same is true of some other organizations. As illustrative of what can be done by a little voluntary individual work, Mr. Jackson within two weeks has procured 500 signatures; Mr. Waldo J. Wernicke, who has unfortunately been ill for several weeks, has returned to the work with renewed vigor, and is extremely effective. Other of the best workers are falling in line actively.

It is interesting to note that the two most prominent candidates for the Democratic nomination for governor are George Creel and Upton Sinclair; both nationally-known figures. Mr. Creel has been for our amendment from the beginning, and Sinclair likewise. He is mentioning the amendment and urging it at all of his meetings.

Mr. Sheridan Downey, of Sacramento, who was in line for the governorship, has withdrawn, and will be a candidate for lieutenant governor. He likewise favors the amendment.

These little items will give you perhaps some idea of what I believe to be "the swing of events."

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## HENRY WARE ALLEN TELLS SOME MATTERS OF INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

This is to report the death of F. B. Hamlin of Pretty Prairie, Kan. "Judge" Hamlin, as he was familiarly called by his fellow-townsmen, was born March 6, 1859 and during the past thirty years he put Pretty Prairie on the map as a Single Tax town so far as the numerous converts made by Judge Hamlin could make it so. It would have been an easy task for some good writer to have prepared a magazine article, illustrated by a picture of Mr. Hamlin at his bench as a harness maker and entitled, "How One Man Converted a Town to the Single Tax."

As a result of Mr. Hamlin's enterprise Single Tax meetings in this little town of Central Kansas were numerous, and among the distinguished Single Tax speakers who were brought there from abroad were John Z. White, George H. Duncan, and Herbert S. Bigelow. The little town of Pretty Prairie afforded an object lesson which in itself was a stimulus to the good cause. One family in particular had amassed a huge fortune as a result of extensive land holdings nearby. Mr. Hamlin was a man of most pleasing personality and left a host of friends to mourn his loss.

John Lawrence Monroe visited Wichita, March 26—27 and made good use of his time while in this city. Commencing on Monday at 9:30 a. m. he addressed two large groups of classes in economics at the High School North, finishing just in time to address a group of about two hundred at the High School East at 12:30. That evening at eight o'clock he spoke at a public meeting held at the Y. M. C. A. On Tuesday morning he addressed several classes that were brought together under Professors Wall and Wright at Wichita University, finishing just in time to take luncheon with the Civitan Club at the Allis Hotel where he addressed a large gathering of business and professional men. Mr. Monroe wears well the mantle inherited from his father and his talks in every instance were forceful and calculated to attract support for the movement.

At the High School North we came across one of Prof. Ely's text books in which the Single Tax was dismissed as impractical and unjust!

It will be remembered that Ely's text books were prepared with funds that were furnished by the very interests which the full application of the Single Tax would destroy.

Wichita, Kan.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR A NAME

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I believe there have been doubts expressed as to the value of the title designating the followers of Henry George. The title "Single Tax" seems to have failed to "click," or to arouse enthusiasm in the public.

Perhaps it is because the word "tax" has become so odious through many generations of tax-gatherers that the mere sound brings on a nausea which puts an end to any desire for closer inspection. Taxation has been the main cause of the world's miseries, taxation is what the followers of Henry George are most anxious to abolish, and the presence of the word "tax" in their name is calculated to produce an effect opposite to the one desired.

Moreover, "Single Tax" suggests an expedition into economics, and the economists have made the subject a "dismal science" which has no attractions even to the scientist, much less to the man in the street. On all counts, it is perhaps true that "Single Tax" is not the happiest title.

The Single Tax, moreover, is not our object, but only the means to attain it. What we want is not taxation, single or otherwise, but the abolition of taxes, and the equal rights of all to the use of the earth. A title suggesting that the movement is seeking a certain method of taxation will repel men who would be attracted by a title suggesting that we demand freedom to a place to work without tribute.

It is no easy matter to produce a title at once brief and attractive and compelling, but I suggest the following for consideration, Equal: Land Rights Party, Land Freedom Party, No Land Tribute Party.

Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

HENRY J. FOLEY.

### A READER'S DIFFICULTIES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

An examination of the taxes on most homes and farms, seems to disclose that they all now pay into the public treasury more than the annual rental value of the land.

If now you would take off the taxes from the improvement, wouldn't that throw an impossible burden upon the land values, which pay now more than their annual rental value?

If your answer is, that the difference would be taken from the land values of public utilities, where are the figures which would show that these land values of the public utilities could annually bear the burden?

I am more or less familiar with the theoretic answers to the question, but it seems to me that unless we can show from some statistical investigation, how we could reduce the tax burden on the home owner, and still meet the tax bill, we can make little progress.

N. Y. City.

L. B. S.

### REPLY

If "most homes and farms . . . now pay into the public treasury more than the annual value of the land" that is possible only because farmers and home owners pay taxes on land, buildings, and improvements. If, as under the Single Tax, the rent of land only would be taken, that in itself would be a guarantee that not "more than the annual value of the land" would be paid.

As to the sufficiency of land rent to meet the needs of government, New York City with its huge expenditures and its so called, "inflated" budget ought to be a fair criterion. Its largest budget (that of 1932) was \$631,000,000. During that year the city collected a minimum of \$225,000,000 as taxes on land values, notwithstanding which there still remained an assessed value in the land of \$9,000,000,000. This assessed value of land means that there still remained in the possession of the land owners of New York City a minimum actual or potential land rent of \$450,000,000 (5% on \$9,000,000,000.)

Thus in 1932 the City of New York collected \$225,000,000 of the land rent, and the owners of the land collected, or could make use of \$450,000,000 of the land rent. This means that in 1932 the total land rent in New York City was a minimum of \$675,000,000. Set this against the budget of 1932 and you have a surplus left over.

But that's only part of the story. Every tax burden lifted from the building or improvement reflects itself in a higher land value; and as the Government of the City of New York in 1932 collected also a minimum of \$225,000,000 from the buildings in the city, and as that amount would remain in the possession of the owner under the Single Tax and no further taxes be collected on any buildings, old or new, it may be confidently expected that this \$225,000,000 will add itself to the \$675,000,000 and show a land rent of not less than \$9,000,000,000. (The budget, it should be remembered here, was \$631,000,000.)

This, approximately, is what would happen in every city in the United States if the Single Tax were adopted throughout the country—and this will provide for all the local expenditures needed. Federal and State needs will be provided by the further rise in land value that will follow the abolition of Federal and State taxes. The Federal Government then can apportion its budget among the States according to the amount each State collected in rent, and each State after combining the Federal apportionment with its own budget, will apportion the whole on the cities and local taxing bodies according to the rent each collected.

Public utilities would help to swell the total (naturally they would not be omitted) but we are not depending on these alone, as is demonstrated above, although it has been said, and is held by many, that the rent of all public utilities including mines, oil-wells, water power sites and all franchises is in itself sufficient to run the Federal, State and local governments.

We should have figures to prove all these claims and some day we will have them, but the figures submitted above are authentic and within the facts.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

### SUGGESTION OF H. B. LOOMIS EXAMINED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The "heretical" suggestion made by H. B. Loomis (March-April issue), of possibly "reaching the Single Tax by way of the income tax" is so well presented as to warrant the consideration he asks for. It strikingly indicates how progress might be made on an unexpected and indirect road.

The *Indirectness* of the income tax route would hide the positive public right to rent on which Single Tax rests, by dealing with it simply as "unearned" relative to wages; and the inquisitorial method of it is bad. But as man's advance is commonly made along illogical lines, the questions as to whether income tax on *unearned income only* would practically approach the Single Tax goal, and as to its being a less resistance road, are very interesting. The hope that pressure of unearned-income tax might bring to Single Tax political cooperation "of those who believe that unearned incomes include more than land rent," may be well based so far as "entrepreneur" earnings (profits) are concerned.

However; while Mr. Loomis' views at least help to make tax on *unearned* incomes tolerable to Single Taxers (and tolerance makes possible cooperation which is badly needed), we certainly must emphasize the *vital need of taking rent at the source* (Single Tax) instead of merely recovering some of its diverted benefits; We must recognize the fallacy of Mr. Loomis' final contention (8) that "The real problem is one of distribution, not of production,"—with its strong opportunist support.—For *production must be freed* from tribute to privilege in order to open opportunities to labor,—to cure involuntary unemployment and exploiting of labor: Recovering the tribute after the main harm is done and without stopping it, *cannot solve the real problem*.

Mr. Loomis fails in this to sustain his thought-provoking thesis that "A tax on incomes with earned incomes exempt would be the Single Tax."

ax." It must in fact fall far short of it. But perhaps it may be a part of our actual way to the goal. What issues will lead to the necessary fundamental thinking no one can tell.  
Reading, Pa.

W. G. STEWART.

### HOW HALDEMAN-JULIUS IS REGARDED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Undoubtedly, too much heed has recently been given in LAND AND FREEDOM, and probably also in the minds of many Single Taxers, to the utterances of a Mr. Haldeman-Julius, of Gerard, Kan. However, as a Kansas citizen is entitled to no small measure of credit for his recent utterances derisive of Henry George and the Single Tax and Single Taxers generally. Perhaps he did not so intend it but he has rendered the Single Tax cause a very distinctive and helpful service.

I do not recall just how Mr. Haldeman-Julius is regarded in New York, but throughout the west he is considered to be without a guiding star. He has always lacked a definite, attainable objective. Anyone who did have such objective would be certain sooner or later to enjoy his disapproval. This is so well known that his endorsement of either men or measures is neither expected nor desired.

It has been my privilege to advocate the Single Tax or essential land reform, in my own way, for a great many years, chiefly throughout the west. With this has come also the privilege of contacting most of the earnest thinkers and students of economics in this part of the world and I know that I have correctly indicated the prevailing thought relative to Mr. Haldeman-Julius.

He has contributed something to the mental activities of thousands by his publication during many years of rather sensational and unbalanced papers along with much good literature reprinted at starvation prices. It is rather a pity that these activities could not have been motivated by some well defined and fundamental purpose.

But why consider seriously, as a commentator on economics or as a critic of Henry George and the Single Tax economic philosophy, one who holds that under the Single Tax "J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, . . . , were not to be taxed," or that the Single Tax might perhaps and only "be made to fit into an exclusively agricultural economy?" The author of these scarcely brilliant guesses either lacks the essential element of integrity of purpose or does not understand the Single Tax at all. If from the pit of ignorance or whatever it may be, he wishes to snarl a few senseless snarls at the Single Tax and its growing army of advocates, why worry about it?  
Tacoma, Wash.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

### THE END OF AN ERA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Needless to say LAND AND FREEDOM is always a welcome arrival and it is a constant source of pleasure to note the very high standard you so consistently maintain. Your "Comment and Reflection" is a feature which excites my admiration while your "Book Reviews" are always a joy to read—that of Prof. Tugwell's book was a gem. In view of the gigantic experiments now being indulged in by President Roosevelt and the bewildering news we get through per cable and special articles, combined with the kaleidoscopic changes that are taking place, LAND AND FREEDOM is doubly welcome with its sound and sane comment which periodically enables us to get things into a proper focus.

What lessons the world is getting in the relentless working of Economic Law. What examples of misery resulting from the outrage of Economic Law. What a terrifying prospect the future holds with the world apparently bankrupt of reason and seemingly bent upon staging the Samson act on a universal scale. This is the end surely of an era, but what next? Is this world-wide defiance of the law going to result in the collapse of our present civilization or will the world realize in time the utter futility of ploughing the sands as it has been industriously doing for so long? Perhaps, before the expiration date of my subscription, we shall have an unmistakable answer.  
Homebush, N. S. Wales.

S. V. LARKIN.

### CALLS FOR A COMMITTEE OF STRATEGY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Two or three letters from different sources in your last issue are all relating to expediency or political action, which I think should be always carefully considered, because we don't know how soon we will reach the political stage:

(1) H. B. Loomis raises a question that we ordinarily consider heretical, but it keeps coming to the surface. He thinks we are going to approach Single Tax through the income tax; shall we entertain this proposition then by insisting on a distinction between earned and unearned incomes; i. e., that we tax only unearned incomes; thus making this more or less popular question grist to our mill.

(2) Can we not avail ourselves of the clamor for reducing taxation of real estate and annex the million who are agitating for this, in the meantime educating them in the two components of real estate, and the need for abolishing the tax on improvements and concentrating all on taxing the land.

(3) Can we not make capital of the socialists' denial of the profit system by agreeing with them and in due course win them over to our position that it is profit on land holding that must be abolished to the end that all other profits can be made secure; in other words unearned increment profits only, are immoral.

Regarding all the above can we not organize a committee of strategy to consider these heretical problems and get them working for us instead of against us.

East Orange, N. J.

CHAS. H. INGERSOLL.

### NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

We are sorry to learn of the death of Thomas H. Colegate of Georgia at the age of 70. For a number of years Single Tax letters have appeared from his pen in papers of his state and elsewhere. He also gave radio talks on our principles which were well received. He was born in England and fifty years ago came to this country, settling in Kansas. He leaves a widow, one son, Henry George Colegate, and two daughters. He was devoted to the cause which he served so long and faithfully.

WILLIAM H. MUNRO, of Schenectady, N. Y., a Single Taxer of long standing, sending in his subscription writes: "I often think of old times, and those who have passed on. There are so many of them. To the survivors, including yourself, the best of good wishes."

E. M. KIMBALL, of Portland, Ore., writes: "March-April number of LAND AND FREEDOM just received. You are doing a great job of it."

We regret to learn of the death of Katharine E. Bradley in an automobile accident on the Olean Highway, two miles from East Aurora. Mrs. Bradley has been a follower of Henry George for over fifty years and has attended a number of congresses of the Henry George Foundation. She was active in many movements but her first love was given to the great cause of industrial emancipation as expounded in "Progress and Poverty." She was a delver in old books treating of history and geneology. She traced her ancestry through a number of lines of revolutionary forebears and back to Roger Williams. When past sixty she studied sociology under John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. She is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Florence Bradley of Olean, Mrs. Lunberg of Washington, D. C. and two grandsons.

O. E. TOEFFERT, of Cincinnati, has a letter on land value speculation in *Christian Science Monitor* which calls attention to the effects of public improvements in the enrichment of land owners.

We have frequently had occasion to refer to the excellent work being done in Australia by E. J. Craigie, M. P. We have now to wel-

come two very striking pamphlets, "The Case for the Single Tax" and "The Relation of Land to the Labor Problem." The first is a pamphlet of 32 pages and cover. We wish we had space for extracts. Mr. Craigie was elected to the House of Assembly in 1930 election being returned at the top of the poll against Liberal, Labor and County Party candidates. In 1933 he increased his preference vote by more than 500 in excess of the number obtained in 1930.

FRANK STEPHENS has had several requests in the last few weeks to speak for various organizations throughout the country. He writes: "I never knew a time when the people were so willing to listen to Single Tax as now."

OUR old friend Z. K. Greene has appeared with a number of Single Tax letters in the Middletown (N. Y.) *Herald* written with his usual firm grasp on principles.

"THE Relation of Housing to Taxation" is the title of a pamphlet by Harold S. Buttenheim. It is a reprint of a symposium on "Low Cost Housing and Slum Clearance" published by Duke University, Durham, N. C. It is an intensive study of the problem written by this clear and cautious thinker. Mr. Buttenheim concludes:

"If mankind ultimately does succeed in abolishing poverty and in paying its governmental services by the value which such services create, much of the credit will certainly belong to the man who, more than any other who has ever lived, dramatized and vitalized this idea in its economic and ethical implications. And that man was Henry George."

HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON, of Palo Alto, Calif., betook himself with high courage to a hospital in San Francisco to undergo a dangerous operation. From his bed he dictated the news letter which appears on another page. On May 12 he was discharged after a successful operation and all that remains now is the necessary rest to regain his strength for the great task in carrying to a successful issue the initiative campaign that is pending in that state. We are sure that our readers will rejoice at the successful outcome of the ordeal through which he has passed.

A. D. SCUGAL has been elected for the fifth term mayor of Shell Rock, Iowa. Mr. Scougal is an outspoken Henry George man, August Willeges informs us, and has supported our principles in the local paper of which he is proprietor.

CHAS. S. PRIZER, of 21 Fifth Avenue, this city, has 208 issues of the Henry George *Standard* bound in four volumes which he will sell for \$150. The books are in good shape except that the board bindings of two of the volumes are in rather a delapidated condition. The papers however are intact and in excellent preservation.

W. G. STEWART, of Reading, Pa., writes: "Comment and Reflection says well what needs saying, and the thought-provoking material is generally remarkable."

THE March issue of the Wellington, New Zealand, *Commonweal*, official organ of the Commonwealth Land Party of New Zealand, has been received and is a lively paper containing much interesting matter.

"THE Great Robbery is priceless," writes Miss Charlotte Schetter and we agree. However it can be had for a dollar of LAND AND FREEDOM. Graham Peace has done an excellent piece of work superlatively well, and while it deals with British conditions under English landlordism its lessons have an application to every country in the world.

EVARISTO MONTALVO, of Havana, Cuba, who is now at the Veterans' Hospital at Oteen, N. C., was provoked to reply to an item in the

Asheville, N. C. *Citizen*, in which that paper asks whether any tax is not a tax on living. Mr. Montalvo advises the editor to read "Progress and Poverty."

FRANK G. ANDERSON, of Jamestown, N. Y., writes us: "As to the difficulty of gaining converts to our doctrine a few words may be added. Most people feel they would lose prestige with their neighbors and town folks, would be regarded as cranks or fanatics. I do not think these things are any longer true but they remain to some extent to be contended with. It is work such as many of us are doing that will bring ultimate victory."

FRANK PRESCOTT RAND, an old Henry George man, passed away on March 18 at the age of 79. He was a native of Maine and was once a member of the Brooklyn Single Tax Club. He died in Victoria, B. C., and was interested to the very last in the great cause he had espoused.

MAYOR MCNAIR of Pittsburgh addressed the Luncheon Club of Beaver Falls, Pa., recently. He was introduced by Henry H. Wilson of Beaver.

MR. HENRY J. FOLEY, whose remarkable series of papers, "An Ancient Remedy for Modern Depressions," in the *Gaelic America* have attracted much attention, was a recent lecturer at the Henry George School of Social Science. The publishers of the *Gaelic America* announce that they have arranged to send the entire series from September 30 last and including future issues, perhaps ten more, at the price of \$2.00. Henry J. Foley may be addressed at 88-25 173d St. Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

THE American Association for Scientific Taxation, of which organization Walter Fairchild is chairman of the legislative committee, has addressed a letter to Mayor LaGuardia recommending an excise tax of two and one-half per cent on the site value of 67,000 obsolete tenements in New York City. The Board of Estimate acknowledged receipt of this proposal stating that it had been referred to the City Chamberlain, and with their usual intelligence have since passed law creating a business tax!

CHARLES H. INGERSOLL's candidacy for governor of New Jersey, of which account of which is set forth on another page, has produced a ton-load of newspaper comments in the papers of that state. Nor has the publicity been confined to New Jersey. The well-known column of the *Washington Star*, Frederic William Wile, comments as follows: "A gubernatorial candidacy that arouses attention in Washington is that of Charles H. Ingersoll in New Jersey. He is running on Single Tax platform." The *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, has a column notice of his candidacy: "Dollar Watch inventor opens strong drive for governorship." The Trenton, N. J. *Times* displays his picture prominently as do a number of New Jersey papers. Newark, N. J. *Call*, says: "If all those who once owned Ingersoll watches would vote for him he would be elected easily."

DR. E. A. COPELAND, our sturdy standard bearer who is running for governor of Mississippi on the Single Tax ticket, was born in Cullman, Ala., in 1884 and graduated in medicine at the age of 24. He had come to Mississippi when he was 14 and since his graduation has been practicing medicine in Jackson where he is well and favorably known.

*La Reforma Social* is a 24-page monthly review of the Spanish Georgist League just issued in Madrid, the first number being that of April, 1934. It is under the general supervision of Baldemero Argente, well known to some of our readers. The first number performs excellent service by reviewing the outstanding events of the first decades of the movement among English speaking peoples. A good

ing impression of the widespread activities of the Spanish Georgist League is gathered in the many news items covering the map of Spain. We wish our colleague success in the campaign for economic and social justice in the home land of Spanish speaking peoples.

OUR old friend Frank G. Anderson, of Jamestown, N. Y., has written many Single Tax letters since 1886 in American and Swedish newspapers. A recent issue of the *Swedish-American* contains a lengthy communication from his indefatigable pen.

AN initiative measure for the exemption of improvements and the taxation of land values will shortly be voted on in the state of Washington.

JAMES B. ELLERY spoke before the William D. Corliss Men's Club of the Universalist Church of Gloucester, Mass. in February and before the Unitarian Laymen's League of that city in April. Mr. Ellery's activities also include a rather lengthy communication on the Single Tax in the *Gloucester Daily Times* of April 20.

A DEBATE on the "Single Tax versus Socialism" was held at the Lincoln Educational Center, Seattle, on April 13. Eugene Way and A. A. Booth supported the Single Tax and George H. Kirkpatrick and W. R. Snow appeared for Socialism.

IN the review of "The Menace of Recovery" in March-April LAND AND FREEDOM the price of the work is given as \$1.75. It should be 2.50.

Charles G. Merrell of Cincinnati, O., is one of the city's business men selected by the Cincinnati *Post* to present a summary of conditions in that city and the effect of the Recovery Act. He says that the NRA is a burden on industry and concludes with the remarkable statement of Abraham Lincoln published in March-April LAND AND FREEDOM. We are glad to see publicity given to the ringing statement of the martyred president.

FRANK CHODOROV, whose name will be familiar to many of our readers, addressed the Business Men's Club of Milwaukee in April. He took for his text "The Abolition of Private Ownership of Land" and said nothing about taxes. It is significant that he was asked to come again.

FRANK STEPHENS in a recent issue of the *Wilmington Star* gives a number of what he terms "Relief Suggestions" in which the opening up of natural opportunities is given first place.

THE Houston (Texas) *Post* says editorially in its issue of April 28: "Both Woodrow Wilson and William Jennings Bryan wished to be remembered by the generations that should come after, although it is doubtful if either made for himself a name that will rank with that of Henry George, or Thomas Edison, or even Henry Ford."

AN admirable article on the teachings of Henry George appears in the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) *Tribune* from the pen of Matthew Cowden.

A SERIES of articles on Henry George's proposals is running in the *Christian Science Monitor* from the pen of John Pratt Whitman.

THE Wheeling (West Virginia) *Register* in a recent issue gives a nice notice of the Henry George School, which is rapidly getting attention from many sources.

SURELY the South is waking up. In a recent issue of the Blytheville (Arkansas) *Courier* there is an admirable editorial on "Food for Lemagogues." Congratulations!

"LAND Costs Retard Housing" is the heading of an article in the *New York Times*.

IN *Colliers* for April 21 appeared an illustrated article by Walter L. Davenport on William N. McNair, the newly elected democratic mayor of Pittsburgh. That splendid veteran, Francis W. Maguire, is also featured and pictured. The article fails to be excruciatingly funny, and of course Mr. McNair is nothing like that. In fact no human being ever was. Mr. Davenport is a type of journalist of which the world is full. If he wrote anything really thoughtful he would be instructed to visit the cashier's desk and get his final pay check. So perhaps we should not greatly blame him.

FLORENCE GARVIN, daughter of the late ex-Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island, writes: "While our present lawmakers may be inexperienced their minds are open, which is a different condition from anything we have encountered before."

IT is fitting that on the anniversary of the birth of Richard Cobden that LAND AND FREEDOM should print the appreciation of his life and work which appears on another page from the pen of John M. Moore, of Lancaster, Pa., the most hide-bound protectionist state in the union.

THE Sunday *News* of this city in issue of April 29 has an illustrated article on the Mellon family. Speaking of Judge Mellon, one of its early progenitors, the article says: "He was violent in his hatred for Henry George's Single Tax." Certainly. And we are also told he did not approve of Abraham Lincoln, which we can also understand.

A PAGE advertisement in the Jackson, (Miss.) *Daily News* announced the candidacy on a Single Tax platform of Dr. E. A. Copeland of Jackson for governor of the state, and his running mate, Hon. Roy Arnold, for secretary of state. We extract a statement from the former:

The value of land in Mississippi is created by all the people in Mississippi; and therefore belongs to all the people in Mississippi; and all taxes should come from the value thus created.

Hon. Roy Arnold is no less explicit:

"The 'Single Tax' is God's natural law of taxation. It is one tax on the TRUE COMMUNITY VALUE OF LAND; according to its natural state, its natural resources, location and surroundings, irrespective of improvements. It will get revenue, and more of it, when all other measures have failed, and will cost about one-fourth as much to collect. It will be Mississippi's salvation. Our people will see the dawn of a new and better day when it is adopted."

JAMES G. BLAUVELT is Republican candidate for United States Senator in the primaries of New Jersey. Our readers all know "Jim" Blauvelt and would be glad to see him in the United States Senate. He is a Henry George man of long standing. The *World-Telegram* of this city thus comments on his candidacy:

The serene crusader, James G. Blauvelt, industrialist, genial good liver, and disciple of Henry George and George L. Record, gazes out over a flowing Windsor tie on the drab shenanigans of New Jersey machine politics without bitterness. A generation of leading lost causes has made him immune to surprise. But it hasn't dampened his reforming spirit.

Mr. Blauvelt—"Jim" in independent political circles in every county of the State—is fighting at the moment for the Republican United States Senate nomination against the plutocratic senior Senator from New Jersey, Hamilton F. Kean.

Later: In the Republican primaries just completed Mr. Blauvelt showed extraordinary strength. His vote was much larger than was conceded him. Though Hamilton F. Kean swept the state by three to one against Mr. Blauvelt the latter, with no organization behind him, polled a total vote of 113,000 and in the county of Essex in which Newark is situated Mr. Blauvelt ran up a vote of 26,000, or nearly half the number cast for his opponent. It was a great moral victory for the genial candidate for U. S. Senator.

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Former Editor of Mind, the Arena, and  
The Metaphysical Magazine

Here is a very excellent book of 112 pages presenting in a most interesting and readable form an argument for a real and practical application of the teachings of Christianity, interwoven with a plea for the adoption of the principle of the taxation of land values as being the most essential and fundamental economic remedy for existing social and industrial wrongs.

The author points out the lack of a constructive programme on the part of the religious forces of the world and urges the necessity of having some such programme in order to make Christianity really practical. He then follows through a number of chapters a discussion of some of the weaknesses of modern thought in the religious and economic fields, including a chapter which shows that the democracy has not yet been realized.

The private ownership of natural resources, in the judgment of the writer, constitutes the fundamental and basic wrong in the entire social order. As a result of this error and the failure to make a proper application of scientific and Christian principles, freedom has disappeared, property and crime prevail and the nations of the earth are involved in war.—Reviewed by CARL D. THOMPSON

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LAND AND FREEDOM

## The Great Robbery

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July—August, 1934

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Helen D. Denbigh

The Tories Go the Limit

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

JULY—AUGUST, 1934

No. 4

## Comment and Reflection

WE have received the following letter from Benjamin L. Yarnall, of Philadelphia:

"In presenting the Single Tax question here I have come across a number of persons who have been brought up in the Catholic faith, and they tell me that they are forbidden to read anything on that question. They tell me further that Henry George's works are on the Index as forbidden. Another person tells me that the priest came around and ordered all of George's books burned. Is there anything on record as to how the George-McGlynn controversy was settled? I have been telling them that when Dr. McGlynn was restored to the priesthood there was no condemnation of Henry George. Will you kindly let me know the facts in the case?"

CATHOLICS who talk this way are uninformed. It is unnecessary to review the events leading up to the refusal of Dr. McGlynn to go to Rome at the command of Archbishop Corrigan, and the imposition of the minor ban of excommunication imposed on the Doctor for such refusal. It may be said that the question was one of church discipline, not of any economic tenet. On the question of the propriety of Father McGlynn's refusal to obey the order of his ecclesiastical superiors there may be room for difference of opinion, but we hasten to the incident of the visit of the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Satolli, and the reopening of the case, with which duty he was charged.

AT Monsignor Satolli's direction the doctrinal statement which follows was prepared by Dr. McGlynn and submitted to the four distinguished professors of the Catholic University at Washington. The names of the eminent doctors follow: Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, (Dean of the Theological Faculty); Thomas Gorman, D. D., (later Bishop of Sioux Falls, S. D.); Charles F. Grannan, D. D. and Edward A. Pace, D. D. The statement, an eloquent exposition of our philosophy, was found to contain nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine, and was so declared. Catholics are free therefore to reject or accept it. Following the friendly interposition of Monsignor Satolli, Dr. McGlynn went to Rome and in an interview with the Holy Father reiterated his faith in the canons of his church. He also avowed his belief in the economics of Henry George and was dismissed with the Pope's blessing. He was reinstated with the full honors

of the priesthood, and officiated both at Roundout and Newburgh. Over the body of his great leader he pronounced that wonderful oration with its memorable declaration which thrilled all present: "Here was a man sent of God."

HERE follows the great doctrinal statement of McGlynn which, with the assent of the distinguished doctors of the Washington University, leaves every adherent of the Catholic Church the freedom to accept or reject it. Any statement to the contrary emanating from any source is to be attributed to ignorance of the facts. One cannot but applaud in sincere earnestness the greatness of the Church in making its position clear and in finally sweeping away all the unfortunate misunderstanding that had arisen on what, as we have said, was after all merely a matter of church discipline.

"All men are endowed by the law of nature with the right to life and to the pursuit of happiness and therefore with the right to exert their energies upon those natural bounties without which labor or life is impossible.

"God has granted those natural bounties, that is to say, the earth, to mankind in general, so that no part of it has been assigned to anyone in particular, and so that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples.

"But it is a necessary part of the liberty and dignity of man that man should own himself, always, of course, with perfect subjection to the moral law. Therefore besides the common [equal] right to natural bounties, there must be by the law of nature private property and dominion in the fruits of industry or in what is produced by labor out of those natural bounties to which the individual may have legitimate access, that is, so far as he does not infringe the equal rights of others or the common rights.

"It is a chief function of civil government to maintain equally sacred these two natural rights.

"It is lawful, and it is for the best interests of the individual and of the community and necessary for civilization that there should be a division as to the use and an undisturbed, permanent, exclusive private possession of portions of the natural bounties or of the land; in fact, such exclusive possession is necessary to the ownership, use, and enjoyment by the individual of the fruits and products of his industry.

"But the organized community through civil government must always maintain the dominion over those natural bounties, as distinct from the products of private industry and from that private possession of the land which is necessary for their enjoyment. The maintenance of this dominion over the natural bounties is a primary func-

tion and duty of the organized community in order to maintain the equal right of all men to labor for their living and for the pursuit of happiness, and therefore their equal right of access directly or indirectly to natural bounties. The assertion of this dominion by civil government is especially necessary because, with the very beginning of civil government and with the growth of civilization, there comes to the natural bounties, or the land, a peculiar and an increasing value distinct from and irrespective of the products of private industry existing therein. This value is not produced by the industry of the private possessor or proprietor but is produced by the existence of the community and grows with the growth and civilization of the community. It is therefore called unearned increment. It is this unearned increment that in cities gives to lands without any improvements so great a value. This value represents and measures the advantages and opportunities produced by the community, and men, when not permitted to acquire the absolute dominion over such lands, will willingly pay the value of this unearned increment in the form of rents, just as men, when not permitted to own other men, will willingly pay wages for desired services.

"No sooner does the organized community, or state, arise that it needs revenues. This need for revenues is small at first while population is sparse, industry rude, and the functions of the state few and simple, but with growth of population and advance of civilization the functions of the state increase and larger and larger revenues are needed. God is the author of society and has pre-ordained civilization. The increasing need for public revenues with social advance being a natural God-ordained need, there must be a right way of raising them—some way that we can truly say is the way intended by God. It is clear that this right of raising public revenues must accord with the moral law or the law of justice. It must not conflict with individual rights, it must find its means in common rights and common duties. By a beautiful providence that may be truly called divine, since it is founded upon the nature of things and the nature of man of which God is the creator, a fund constantly increasing with the capacities and needs of society is produced by the very growth of society itself, namely, the rental value of the natural bounties of which society retains dominion. The justice and the duty of appropriating this fund to public uses is apparent in that it takes nothing from the private property of individuals except what they will pay willingly as an equivalent for a value produced by the community, which they are permitted to enjoy. The fund thus created is clearly by the law of justice a public fund, not merely because the value is a growth that comes to the natural bounties which God gave to the community in the beginning, but also and much more because it is a value produced by the community itself, so that this rental value belongs to the community by that best of titles, namely, producing, making, or creating.

"To permit any portion of this public property to go into private pockets, without a perfect equivalent being paid into the public treasury, would be an injustice to the community. Therefore the whole rental fund should be appropriated to common or public uses.

"This rental tax will make compulsory the adequate utilization of natural bounties exactly in proportion to the growth of the community and of civilization, and will thus compel the possessors to employ labor, the demand for which will enable the laborer to obtain perfectly just wages. The rental tax fund growing by a natural law pro-

portionately with the growth of civilization will thus be sufficient for public needs and capacities and therefore all taxes upon industry and upon the products of industry may and should be abolished. While the tax on land values promotes industry and therefore increases private wealth, taxes upon industry act like a fine or a punishment inflicted upon industry—they impede and restrain and finally strangle it.

"In the desired condition of things land would be left in the private possession of individuals, with full liberty on their part to give, sell, or bequeath it, while the state would levy on it for public uses a tax that should equal the annual value of the land itself, irrespective of the use made of it or the improvements on it.

"The only utility of private ownership and dominion of land, as distinguished from possession, is the evil utility of giving to the owners the power to reap where they have not sown, to take the products of the labor of others without giving them an equivalent—the power to impoverish and practically to reduce to a species of slavery the masses of men who are compelled to pay to private owners the greater part of what they produce for permission to live and to labor in this world, when they would work upon the natural bounties for their own account, and the power when men work for wages, to compel them to compete against one another for the opportunity to labor, and to compel them to consent to labor for the lowest possible wages—wages that are by no means the equivalent of the new value created by the work of the laborer, but are barely sufficient to maintain the laborer in a miserable existence and even the power to deny to the laborer the opportunity to labor at all. This is an injustice against the equal right of all men to life and to the pursuit of happiness, a right based upon the brotherhood of man which is derived from the fatherhood of God. This is the injustice that we would abolish in order to abolish involuntary poverty.

"That the appropriation of the rental value of land to public uses in the form of a tax would abolish the injustice which has just been described, and thus abolish involuntary poverty, is clear; since in such case no one would hold lands except for use, and the masses of men having free access to unoccupied lands, would be able to exert their labor directly upon natural bounties and to enjoy the full fruits and products of their labors, beginning to pay a portion of the fruits of their industry to the public treasury only when, with the growth of the community and the extension to them of the benefits of civilization there would come to their lands a rental value distinct from the value of the products of their industry, which value they would willingly pay as the exact equivalent of the new advantages coming to them from the community; and again in such case men would not be compelled to work for employers for wages less than absolutely just wages, namely, the equivalent of the new value created by their labor; since men surely would not consent to work for unjust wages when they could obtain perfectly just wages by working for themselves; and finally, since what belongs to the community shall have been given to the community, the only valuable things that men shall own as private property will be those things that have been produced by private industry; the boundless desire and capacities of civilized human nature for good things will always create a demand for these good things, namely the products of labor—a demand always greater than the supply; and therefore for the labor that produces these good things there will always be a demand greater than

he supply and the laborer will be able to command perfectly just wages—which are a perfect equivalent in the product of some other person's labor for the new value which his own labor produces."

**K**EEPING in mind the full freedom for the acceptance or rejection of the doctrines of Henry George permitted to those of the faith, it may be of interest to adherents of the Catholic Church to listen to what eminent divines and prelates have said on the land question.

First, Gregory the Great, in these memorable words:

"Those who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who lie every day for the want of it."

And Cardinal Newman, one of the sweetest characters in the history of the Church:

"The history of the gradual, stealthy but really nefarious evolution in which landlords, by their own legislative power and their influence over lawyers, changed themselves into landowners, needs to be popularized."

Cardinal Manning believed that the Encyclical Letter of the Pope which Henry George answered in "The Condition of Labor" was really aimed at Henry George, but he said that "between the postulates and the deduction Henry George could drive a coach and four," (see "Life of Henry George" by his son.) It should be remembered by non-Catholics that an encyclical letter is not binding on those of the faith, and so Cardinal Manning had a right to express his own convictions.

**N**OR should we forget the remarkable letter of Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland, to the clergy and laity of his diocese, written before he had read "Progress and Poverty" or perhaps even heard of Henry George. In the course of this lengthy letter Bishop Nulty said:

"The land, therefore, of every country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. *Terram autem dedit fillis hominum.* Now, as every individual in that country is a creature and child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of a country that would exclude the humblest man in that country from his share of the common inheritance would not only be an injustice and a wrong to that man, but, moreover, would be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator."

**E**VERYTHING that we learn of the physical sciences points to the purposeful operation of natural forces. A faith in these forces born of actual knowledge, brings with it a faith that, if not the immediate fruit of knowledge, is no less real in the domain of what Einstein has happily called "the cosmic spiritual sense." From observation of these natural forces, this irrevocable order of the universe, springs a new confidence in an intelligence that is

above the world. A new reality is given to faith, a faith which is now endowed with all that we comprehend in the word "evidence."

**I**N the field of economics it is not conceivable that in the forces that are in play we are dealing with a "planless" universe. Here as elsewhere there is a natural order, here as elsewhere natural forces operate. All the laborious efforts at government planning presupposes an artificial, not a natural order of the universe. Substituting for present injustices the observance of a few natural laws that we may recognize in society, we arrive at a conception of government and social development which leaves little room for regulation and regimentation.

**W**E may anticipate the objection that will be raised. How are these natural laws to be discovered and in what do they consist? We begin by postulating that any system which makes private property of the planet is contrary to natural law and the law of justice. As generation succeeds generation, each must have its freedom to determine the conditions under which it may best thrive and prosper. It cannot thrive and prosper where it finds title deeds plastered over the earth's surface that forbid the free exercise of man's labor save by permission and exactions of the title holders. This is a denial of the right to life. Progress is halted where men must share the fruits of their labor with those endowed with the power of legal blackmail on every unit of wealth produced.

**T**HIS may seem an extreme statement to many. It will not seem so to those who have given thought to the question. There are three partners in the distribution of wealth where there should be but two. The third partner who takes economic rent is an illicit intruder. The landowner as owner of the land makes no contribution to the resources of this ill-assorted partnership. It is true that he is supposed to furnish the land. But he did not make the land and its value is not due to him. Population gives it such value as it has, and this value increases as population increases and diminishes as population diminishes. That it does not go to the people who create it constitutes what Graham Peace calls "The Great Robbery."

**P**ROF. Irving Langmuir, winner of the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1932, comes out with a really interesting proposition, this being that we cannot discover the cause of depressions because it is impossible to improvise an experimental slump. In other words, that as no laboratory demonstrations of a depression are possible, therefore economics is not a science. From which it would follow that nothing is a science that cannot be proved by laboratory experiment.

WELL, it is true that you cannot include so much wealth, so much wages, so much speculation, so much monopoly, and while mixing well, induce a recognizable residue of depression. It is impossible to furnish the proper admixture. Because we cannot produce experimental depressions with the factors involved for actual laboratory experiments we must substitute "wishful thinking." On this any comment would be superfluous, save to say that if Prof. Langmuir were not a great chemist he would make a great figure among the economists, such as they are!

## A Great Soul Passes

DEATH OF OSCAR H. GEIGER

IT will be sad news to hundreds of his friends who do not yet know of it to learn of the death of Oscar H. Geiger on Friday morning, June 29, of a sudden heart attack.

He died at his home which was also the home of the School that with indefatigable labor he had built to its present proportions, and to the greater success of which he was looking with that hopeful vision that was part of his nature. It was an augury of the future that the student body numbering some eighty pupils, young men and women who have learned of their teacher the vision and practicability of a new and just social order, declared to the very last among them, "The School must go on." The debt they owe to the teacher must be repaid. The truth which they have learned must be passed on to others.

His death was a great shock to those who knew and loved him. The noble qualities of his mind, the supreme devotion, and the sacrifice he had made, were known to many who were close to him. He had done this, for he felt, as many of us did, that he was on the eve of a great achievement. He had, what so many of us seem to lack, imagination. His vision pictured the School growing year by year, until it should exercise a compelling influence upon public thought, on the leaders of opinion.

And this was, we are convinced, no idle hope. It is not yet too late for those who remained cold to the call of Oscar Geiger and the School to step into the breach and save the greatest adventure ever begun in the interest of the movement. God knows that he asked nothing for himself. As pure in heart as in mind, as beautiful and serene a character as ever walked the earth, he gave his all, and by his intensive labors hastened his end. "Those who will live for it—if need be die for it." "That is the power of truth." And Oscar Geiger did not shrink from the possibility. "The School must go on," he said to us when urged to relax and seek recreation.

It is not yet too late, we repeat, to make the vision of our friend a reality. Not yet too late, for he has left a group of disciples touched with fire that was all his own who comprise the nucleus of a new army that is forming. And they stand ready to "carry on." And those who are

known to cherish a belief in the cause, who for any motive have held back, have still their opportunity.

To Oscar it will not matter now. He is with the saints. And though something of the sweetness and light has departed, though the world is temporarily poorer for his going, he has left in his life and work much that is destined to bear fruit. Not all of his dream has been realized but he had passed the threshold. Something of the inner beauty of that palace of light and truth, the glorious structure of a new civilization for a freer race of men and women, he had seen and made others see. Perhaps that was achievement enough for any man.

We have said that to him it does not matter now who helps or who, standing idly by, refuses help. But perhaps it does. Oscar Geiger believed—he said *he knew*—that the individual consciousness does not die with death. This was a part of his faith on which to all save a few he was nobly reticent. And another faith he held, equally, we fear, as remote from popular apprehension, that the truth for which he gave his life is part of a natural law as irrevocable as that the sun will rise tomorrow. Civilization may go down, but the simple truth of Henry George, which is the truth of God, is implicit in creation.

Oscar Geiger has done his work—nobly has he done it. He will rest now, but perhaps he will rest better if those to whom he meant so much, not only the students he guided with gentle ministration out of the dark into the light, but we who are older in the movement, give to this truth a renewed devotion. That is all we can do for him now—pure soul, unsullied spirit!

## HIS LIFE AND WORK

Oscar Geiger was sixty-one years old but seemed much younger, for he had kept his spirit young. He had studied for a rabbi and was for a time superintendent of the Deborah Orphans Home here. Later he declined a call as pastor of a Unitarian Church in Boston. Then he drifted into the theatrical business and became bookkeeper for Koster and Beal and other managers.

Later he entered the fur business and founded a house of his own which rapidly attained a standing in the retail trade. He became an authority on the subject of fur and later served as buyer for a number of houses here Loeser's in Brooklyn, and Arnold Constable in Manhattan. No one in the fur trade was more highly respected for his knowledge and probity. On the very eve of assuming the work of the Henry George School he had received a flattering offer from an established fur house which entailed an assured competence and a share in the business. This was declined.

His work in the Henry George movement is known to readers of LAND AND FREEDOM. He was a member of the Committee of Forty-Eight which was swallowed up by the Farmer-Labor Party, and he was the keynote speaker at the Chicago convention, which fizzled out. But we recall how in the finest speech ever made by Mr. Geiger

he held that convention for a brief space in the hollow of his hand. *Almost* that great convention was on the point of being swayed by this speech to declare for the only remedy that would have held them together, and perhaps the course of history would have been changed. Certainly the Committee of Forty-Eight would have been saved. But the politicians were too strong, despite the well intentioned purposes of the leaders who did not know what they wanted. But we were all proud of Oscar Geiger for that magnificent appeal which had almost won out.

Mr. Geiger is survived by his wife, to whom the cause her husband served owes almost as much, and his son, Prof. George Raymond Geiger, author of "The Philosophy of Henry George."

### THE SERVICES AT THE SCHOOL

The funeral services in the School, 211 West 79th street, on Sunday afternoon of July 1, at which perhaps a hundred and fifty or more were gathered, were conducted with dignity by Hon. Lawson Purdy, who read the Lord's Prayer and the great chapter from "Progress and Poverty," the Problem of the Individual Life. He closed with Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar," and paid a fine personal tribute to the great dead.

There was hardly a dry eye in the crowded rooms of the School, but it was apparent that those present mingled with their sorrow an intense determination that the cause for which our friend gave his life must not be allowed to die. His words, "The School must go on," seemed ringing in their ears even as his body was lowered in the earth.

### ADDRESS OF

#### HON. CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

Mr. Purdy then introduced Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who spoke as follows:

If the spirit of Oscar Geiger is hovering near us today, in this school room, as well may be, I am sure he would be disposed to admonish anyone chosen as I have been to speak on this occasion, to say little in personal eulogy except it be related to the cause for which, in a more than figurative sense, he gave his life.

But it should be recorded none the less that this good man who has passed from our mortal sight was a fine gentleman, a scholar and a lover of his kind. He was a gentleman, I mean, in that sense of being a gentle, manly man, brave enough to live his life according to high principles of duty and justice at whatever cost. Of such on Judgment Day I am sure will be formed the host of the True Anointed of the Lord.

Oscar Geiger's greatest attainment was as a teacher of the truths of political economy as Henry George had revealed them in his immortal writings; truths which are now of the most vital concern to humanity; portentous truths which have been unperceived or neglected or distorted by most of the teaching professors of our time. It was Oscar Geiger's part to saturate his fine mind with George's philosophy and economical teachings, and reveal them persuasively and convincingly to the minds of others.

I recall the great tribute paid to Dr. John Dewey by the teaching profession upon the occasion of his seventieth birthday, a few years ago. At that time Dr. Kilpatrick, Professor of Education at Teacher's College, in expressing the gratitude of teachers said something to the effect that Dr. Dewey had helped them to see truth more broadly, more deeply, more clearly and more truly than anyone else. Some of us here recently had the privilege of hearing a number of students under Oscar Geiger earnestly testify to the same idea as applied to him. He had helped them to see the breadth and depth and clarity of George's revelations. Mr. Geiger listened to this testimony at a notable public gathering over which he presided, and I am sure he was made very happy by it. For had not his great teacher, Henry George, declared that it is given to few men to sow the seed and know that it will grow.

The teachers headed by the President of Yale, who were so justly extolling John Dewey on his seventieth birthday, were considering him as a world-honored expositor of educational theory. But as a great philosopher he would no doubt tell us that the thing that is taught is always more important than any process of teaching it. So I deem it no disparagement of his intellectual eminence to say that the things he taught about education, however true, may be of far less importance to humanity than the things that have been taught in the Henry George School of Social Science by Oscar Geiger. Not only in New York but elsewhere throughout the country, and even in lands across the sea, there are now a growing number of educated men and women who believe that civilization is in the shadow of a great menace, and that there is now no need in the world so great and so pressing, if it be not too late, than the need for the sowing of the seeds of George's teachings in the minds of men.

We are told that a few hours before his death Oscar Geiger was listening here to President Roosevelt's eloquent radio address to the nation, on the evening of June 28, which concluded with the inspiring invocation to all of us "to make and keep this country of ours a God's Country."

I think there must have been sadness in the heart of our departed friend on hearing these words sent from the White House, into the homes of listening millions of our people. Perhaps Oscar Geiger, like some others of us, was thinking of President Roosevelt as a humane and courageous man struggling valiantly but in vain with the greatest problems and anxieties that have ever confronted a President of the United States. I do not know what Oscar Geiger thought when he turned away from the radio the other night, but he may well have been both sad and fearful.

Not long ago he expressed to me the conviction, shared by many of us, that the President with all his worthy zeal for the relief of distressed millions in a land of plenty, was wasting himself as well as the substance of the nation in doctoring symptoms rather than dealing with the cause and cure of a great social disease. Not in that wise, we fear, can any God's Country be attained.

Oscar Geiger knew his Henry George, and no doubt recalled that his great prophet had reminded us more than once that the lesson of the centuries demonstrates to all who have eyes to read and brains to think that a social structure whose foundations are not laid in justice cannot endure. And he knew his Old Testament too, with its proverbial admonition to the nations that:

"Where there is no vision the people perish;  
but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."

I believe Oscar Geiger *was* happy, in spite of the personal sacrifices and privations he endured for the faith that was in him. Because, caring very little for material rewards, he hungered and thirsted greatly after righteousness. And, thus exalted, he was true to his vision—and *he kept the law.*

### AT THE GRAVE

Our friend was buried at Woodlawn Cemetery. Here Stephen Bell spoke as follows:

There is no occasion to grieve for Oscar Geiger. His life in a very real sense was an unusually full one. He beheld with extraordinary clearness that vision of the civilization that will be when men are fit for it, when humanity shall have grown to mental and spiritual maturity, and to have beheld that vision is well worth having lived even a life of hardship and self denial and self-sacrifice. Who of us would part with that vision for any earthly consideration? Who of us have not regarded with commiseration those who never saw it? Let our grief be for those he has left behind—for the noble woman whose loving sympathy has been his support and consolation in his uphill struggle to establish his Henry George School of Social Science, and for his son, who in his book has pointed out to us elements of strength and beauty in the work of the Prophet of Civilization that many of us may have overlooked or forgotten.

And let our grief be for ourselves, too, for we have lost a wise leader, peculiarly gifted in the art of imparting to others the knowledge, understanding and wisdom of life which he had himself gained—a born and trained teacher. Who is there amongst us who, having realized the work that he was doing in his School, have not sung with renewed appreciation the old hymn:

"This is the thing I long have sought,  
And mourned because I found it not?"

This Henry George School of Social Science, in which so many have had their conceptions of the "Dismal Science" gloriously transformed into a science of hope for all humanity must be made a fitting monument to the memory of its founder as well as to the memory of the Prophet of Civilization himself. Let its sustaining gifts, endowments and benefactions be known as the Oscar Geiger Foundation Fund, and let them not be small.

There are still left some of us who were electrified 37 years ago when John S. Crosby declared: "If those mute lips could speak, they would say, 'Talk not of me, but of my principles and work, and carry them on to fruition.'"

Thus would Oscar Geiger speak to us. Let us then take up this work and carry it on, not, as too often in the past we have done, as a threat to the existing constitution of society, but as a calm, intellectual appeal to reason for an amendment to that constitution which is approved on the highest plane of morality and reason, and which will prove a blessing not only to that vague "greatest number," but to all.

**D**EFENDING the New Deal as a cure for economic ills President Roosevelt said on April 24: "We have got to discover the right and the wrong way." The President still has to discover that the right way to cure an evil is to remove its cause and that all other ways are wrong ways. The pretended economists of the Brain Trust need the same instruction.

## Let Us "Move Forward"—Together

A MESSAGE FROM THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL

"**T**IME is an element in this"—was an expression heard frequently in our school group-meetings, as we worked to send out our Student Message to the followers of Henry George, asking them to join with us in forming a Henry George Fellowship.

It was on April 19 that that expression was first used. As our message centered around seed-growing and the spring, it was felt that the message must be out before the summer.

Seven weeks later the message had gone out, answers were coming in, and at our Commencement Dinner, on June 7, Mr. Hennessy, president of the Schalkenbach Foundation, in his address said:—"And now the Great Adventure on which Oscar Geiger embarked three years ago has come to a successful issue"—meaning that the student support was assured, and the future bright for our great teacher and leader. For that he was great, and good, we *know*.

Three weeks after that happy evening, the illness which had at times given him sharp, sudden warnings struck swiftly in the night, and within two hours thereafter his great soul passed on.

That is not yet a week ago, as I write. Yet some of the students and friends of the School hurriedly called together, true to their belief in the spiritual quality of this work, and encouraged by his belief in them as leaders-in-training under him, convinced that his spirit will lead them yet to "Move Forward" in this great cause for the ultimate freedom of man, are communicating to the Trustees of the School their desire to serve, voluntarily if need be in any capacity, in this emergency. *For the School must go on.* The sign in our leader's own beautiful handwriting which greeted us always on classdays,—"**Door Open**" must still greet those for whom we seek to provide free scholarships and all those who will in the future seek the truth he taught there, which his students and the leaders chosen will share with them. There were fourteen of these students and friends present on Tuesday, July 3, when this determination was voiced, and in a certain two minutes of that meeting, \$1,050.00 was subscribed for the work next year. One of the student-council members, a teacher, offered his time during the summer to further increase this amount, by personal appeals to those present at the commencement Dinner, who thereby showed their interest in the cause, and received the inspiration of that meeting, and who will be *certain* to fee with us a conviction of the need to maintain this School—the Power-House, and Light-House too,—of this great Henry George Fellowship. He asks that those of us who can provide him with other names of personal friends

whom he might influence communicate those names to him, if addresses are in New York or vicinity. He is Mr. Max Berkowitz, and may be addressed at the School.

The hope behind this is that we may begin to provide adequately for a director and paid staff to carry on the work as soon as may be.

Returning to our thought of this Great Adventure upon which Oscar Geiger embarked three years ago, these words of Ulysses from the Odyssey come to mind:—

"For my purpose holds

To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths

Of all the western stars, until I die.

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,

It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,

And see the great Achilles, whom we knew."

Only there was no "may be"—in his understanding of the journey to the Happy Isles, for there he believed he *would* see the great Achilles whom he knew, and followed in this Great Adventure. And I, for one, believe he now has seen him, and trust to a spiritual leadership of both these great-hearted souls in the widening and working-out of our growing Henry George Fellowship, with this School as its centre in America.

Join with us, join now and know a peace that passes understanding, at having lined up with the forces of Ormuzd against Ahriman—the Prince of Light against the Powers of Darkness.

"Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now."

Let us "Move Forward"—together—and **Send Aid to the School.**

HELEN D. DENBIGH,

President of the Student Alumni Council,  
Henry George School of Social Science,  
211 W. 79th Street, New York City.

**I**N the art of getting revenue by a tax on wealth the bandit, Dillinger, is an expert. He knows how to enforce the rule about taxing in accordance with ability to pay and he does it. And the government which gets its own revenue by methods based on principles similar to Dillingers is trying to punish him. It would be more consistent to put him in charge of public revenue collecting.

**M**ARK TWAIN once advised a diet of whales to a person in need of brain food. On considering the person's deficiency he added however that the whales need not be more than of average size in his case. Had Mark been advising the Brain Trust he would not have suggested whales, but the need, as in Jonah's case, of the special creation of a fish enormous enough to supply the requirements.

**A** LEGISLATOR who does not scruple to vote for a dishonest tax law can not be relied upon to be scrupulous in other matters.

## Address at Commencement Dinner of the Henry George School, June 7, 1934

By HELEN D. DENBIGH

**M**R. GEIGER, leader of the newly formed Henry George Fellowship, Members of that Fellowship and Friends:

It is with a deep appreciation of the significance of our presence here tonight that I shall speak of our School and some of its most recent activities.

The Henry George School of Social Science is a school where devotion to an idea prevails; where sincerity pervades the atmosphere, and facts are faced; a place where selfishness is ruled out; where faith revives and reason reigns.

It is a place which has frequently seemed to me, since I found it last October, to be the *sanest* spot in this city. It carries healing in its message, which would bring Peace, Joy, Opportunity and Security to men. Of this, its student body has become convinced under the patient, skilled, wise teaching of the Henry George theory by the director, Oscar Geiger.

In the words of an observer, Frank Chodorov, "The Henry George School of Social Science is the hope of the continued life of our movement."

Is it any wonder that a feeling should spring up of the value of and need for fellowship with the other students attending, in some cases, other classes in the School,—as we realized the new point of view we were *all* getting and sensed the fine spirit of generosity, and understanding in this or that one, and began to appreciate the sterling qualities of others?

How interesting for instance it was to learn that one student had brought twelve of his friends to the course; that another had induced fifteen of his business acquaintances to come with him that they might study this theory together; that a third had given of his best efforts for weeks to help young students find their way to the Free Discussion Group.

Is this kind of thing usual?

Its very unusualness points to power somewhere.

In the message? In the teacher?

In *both*, in this most fortunate of Schools.

As an outcome of this feeling of a need for Fellowship the *spirit of service* to this great cause was born, for we soon learned how much the School,—and so the whole Henry George movement—needed us.

On Thursday, April 19, exactly seven weeks ago tonight—a date which may become historic in this movement—there was held in the main classroom of the School a meeting of the Part II Students.

It was found to be their common feeling that at the School itself there burned a light, which might become

the strongest of influences to pierce the darkness of men's minds at this crisis in the world's history.

We realized we had a leader, consecrated to the ideals of this great American Social Philosopher, Henry George,—a leader equipped by heart and mind, and soul, and training. Yet this very work for mankind was in peril from lack of funds! and this light might fail.

No. Round him there rallied this group of his student-friends determined to help forward this work. Twenty of them became members of the Student Alumni Council, organized to act as a strong, vigorous advisory body, interesting itself in the physical ways and means of the School, and by them a message was prepared and sent out on May 28, inviting five thousand known followers of Henry George throughout the nation to join them in forming a Henry George Fellowship,—the purpose of which is:—

"To draw into closer bonds of Unity and Effort the true followers of Henry George, to the end that others may be enabled to see the star they see—that star that foretells the Dawn of a Day when their cause for the ultimate freedom of man shall triumph."

A call to answer to the Muster Roll of this Fellowship was a part of this invitation. (And may I tell those of you who have responded to this already, how gratefully your response has been received! It is a proof that the dreamers have not dreamed in vain!)

Announcement was also made of a plan for contributing towards whole or partial Free Scholarships at the School—to be offered to unemployed teachers, ministers, college students and others.

It is early to predict results, but I am told the response is greater to date than to that of any previous appeal, covering the same amount of time.

Our School has a library in the building stage and I wish to request for it books, and yet more books!

The granting of our permanent charter to take the place of our provisional one by the University of the State of New York, will come up in three more years, and is partly dependent upon our having a well equipped library. Mr. Bolton Hall, Chairman of the Library Committee, will gratefully accept such books as were designated in the circular that followed the message, and which are also most completely described in the May-June issue of LAND AND FREEDOM in that splendid article on our School, which I read with great pleasure last night.

One more school activity in the making remains to be mentioned—and that a most pregnant one. Some of the students intend to continue next year at the School as members of a Seminar, thinking and discussing together with Mr. Geiger as leader along various lines of thought not strictly sociological in nature, but of interest to members of the group.

To some of us, this was a wonderful appeal,—and its outcome—who knows?—*if to think truly is truly to live!*

The Student Alumni Council wishes to invite every

known follower of the Henry George movement in this country into this Fellowship, and will be most grateful for lists of names to be checked with the School list. If these lists of names are sent to the School the mailing will be done from there.

Nor is this Fellowship within the borders of our own great country our only hope. We now have a wider vision. Remembering that—"The Earth is the Birth-right of All Mankind"—may we not trust that leaders in the Henry George movement in Canada, England, Denmark, New Zealand, Australia and other countries, will be led to call their Muster Rolls and so join in what may thus become a world-wide Henry George Fellowship?

"He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call. How they call and call and call. Strong soul and high endeavors, the world needs them now."

Much depends upon us. Let us act well our part.

On the evening when our Fellowship is in one of its most impressionable and formative stages, I feel I must read a short passage from "Progress and Poverty"—familiar to some of you for years, to some for a year only.

(Miss Denbigh then read forty lines of "The Central Truth" from "Progress and Poverty," book X).

Let us catch the vision again together, and holding it—Move Forward!—which I hereby suggest as the slogan of our great Fellowship.

## An Interesting Letter

THE following letter addressed to the Sleepy Garment Mills at Centreville, Mich., was sent by our friend H. W. Noren of Pittsburgh, and a copy forwarded to President Roosevelt:

Thanks for your offer to send us tags with NRA for such of your garments as were received previous to the enactment of the NRA code. You need not send us any. At the present rate of turn-over we will be five years selling old stocks of merchandise of all kinds of which none has any NRA tags.

NRA stands for the all-inclusive aim of the Federal Administration of which the AAA or Agriculture Adjustment Act is a part. This act provides pay for landholders who hold land idle, reduce crop acreage and for destruction of crops. I am told that in our city slaughter-houses throw little pigs into greese vats to be reduced to fertilizer on the order and payment of the Federal government.

Sooner or later this wanton destruction of the products of toil will be known even to the twenty million people in want of food and clothes and the NRA may become a detestable telltale and sign of the worst Administration in United States history.

In 1879 Henry George gave to the world his immortal code for social laws. One must go back to the laws of Moses to find anything of like importance. That George was born in these United States, or ever wrote anything, seems not to be known to anyone connected with the present Democratic Administration.

In their frantic effort to help landholders they have inflicted upon us a lot of clap trap rules to govern our conduct and adopted in large the age-old communist ideas of primitive man as worked over by Karl Marx and his present day followers of university professors. But even in this application of Marxism they violate Marxism itself for apparently the express purpose of benefitting no one save landholders.

The laws of Moses and the code of George they tramp under foot. Perhaps it is true, that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

## Report of the Schalkenbach Work

LAST month it was explained that letters to Single Taxers were sent from this office, asking for help in putting before the newspapers of the country word of the new edition of "Social Problems." Among the many people who were kind enough to cooperate in this way were Mr. Henry Ware Allen who had letters published in several important papers, Mr. McGowan, whose letters were published in the Youngstown, (O.) *Telegram*, J. H. Kauffman of Columbus, O., Z. K. Greene, Middletown, N. Y.; Zetta Smith, Lindsay, Calif.; Stephen Bell, N. Y. City; Mathew Cowden, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Bailey, Del Rey, Calif.; and A. D. Scougal, Shell Rock, Iowa.

From the prepared material sent out from this office, editorials and book reviews on "Social Problems" were printed in the following newspapers: *Passaic Herald News*, *Columbus Dispatch*, *Boston Transcript*, *Christian Century*, *America* and *Johnstown Democrat*. Harry Elmer Barnes in his syndicated articles gave special notice to "Social Problems" as a result of a letter written from this office.

Three hundred and forty-four copies of the new edition of "Social Problems" have been sold and distributed since April.

Mrs. Anna George de Mille obtained much favorable publicity for the cause on the occasion of a recent lecture trip to Coshocton, Youngstown, and Niles, Ohio.

Special articles have appeared with greater frequency in the public prints on the subject of Henry George. One of the most interesting was a long and important article in the *Milwaukee Journal*, with full size picture of Henry George, and complete story of his life. Fred C. Kelly who writes for *Today* has mentioned Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" in several feature articles. Harlan Eugene Read and the famous "Bob Davis" are two celebrities who have recently spoken at length about Henry George and his books. William Lyon Phelps wrote at length of "Progress and Poverty" in a syndicated article. A copy of "Moses" and "The Philosophy of Henry George" have been sent to him by our President, Mr. Jennessy, with the compliments of the trustees of the Foundation.

In the American Library Association magazine called *The Booklist*, we have been running notices of pamphlets that are obtainable by librarians for the price of postage.

Harry Gunnison Brown's "Talk About Taxes, etc.," Henry George's "Single Tax, What it is and Why We Urge It," and Mr. John B. Sharpe's "New Political Economy," are all advertised and are being sent to librarians everywhere who are writing for copies.

In the last report we spoke about advertising in the *Annalist* where we placed a half page, back cover advertisement. One of the results of this was to procure an

interesting letter and order from a professor in far-off Durban, South Africa, (Natal University College.)

From the numerous letters that have been received by the Foundation, subsequent to the printing of the new edition of "Social Problems," the following may be considered an example of the kind of interest aroused throughout the country by our methods of correspondence, advertising and publicity:

"Gentlemen:

Is there any definite Single Tax organization in Michigan? If so, I am anxious to know its identity. Michigan is fast travelling in the opposite direction to Single Tax philosophy, and we seem to be very much in a minority. Some real constructive work should be done very soon.

W. J. PALMER."

We put Mr. Palmer in touch with several of the Detroit leaders and workers, and sent him considerable literature from which he could choose the pieces most suited to the work he intended to do. Now this is typical of the way in which group leaders come to the Foundation for aid, not only in literature, but for news and plans. Thinking about this led us to the conclusion that it might be well to send to about one hundred of the known leaders and workers in our movement, a special letter asking for their plans for the coming year. This we have done, and have also sent sample pieces of about fourteen leaflets and pamphlets prepared by the Foundation. We have asked each leader to let us know, after examination, which pieces are most acceptable, and most practical in supplying the needs of his community.

Twenty-three thousand copies of "Steps to Economic Recovery" have been printed and distributed in the past. We announce the further printing this week of ten thousand additional copies available at five cents a piece, or fifty for \$1. Ten thousand new booklists are also being prepared.

Perhaps the best news is the announcement of the printing of six thousand copies of an article by Paul Blanshard entitled "The Great Land Racket."

This article originally appeared in the *New Freeman*, and it is one of the best short arguments against the inequity of our present land system that can be found. A sample copy will be sent to anyone who will send a three cent postage stamp. The price is one cent a copy or one hundred for \$1.

Through the kindness of Mr. John Lawrence Monroe who sent us several hundred names of people whom he had interested during his lecture tours, we were able to send free literature and information about Henry George's writings to this new group. A great deal of work has been done during the past month with new lists of names.

Among the interesting donations of books made by the Foundation during the past month were gifts to the New York Public Library of additional copies of "Progress and Poverty;" gifts of many copies of George books to the Dayton Public Library which reported a strong demand.

for them; gifts to the Oregon State Library; and to the Oklahoma Penitentiary, whose Chaplain requested books of worth and good content for the man in his charge.

Our president, Mr. Hennessy, is gathering material for articles on the NRA, and on the Homestead subsistence project. We will be able to report more about this in a future issue.—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

## Manhattan Single Tax Club

THE New Jersey gubernatorial campaign is underway, and while the actual campaigning is not yet begun, the preliminary set-up and organization are being planned so that Mr. Ingersoll and his committees may have a definite plan of procedure. Meantime, Mr. Ingersoll our president and candidate for governor has had the following meetings:

New Jersey Taxpayers Association, May 23.—This was the first public meeting of the campaign; 400 present. The three leading candidates were invited to speak; this is a sort of federation of 100 or more "locals" throughout the state aggregating a huge number of members; it has so far stuck closely to its programme of "reducing cost of government" and has repeatedly refused to even hear our plea for going to new sources. Mr. Ingersoll made his keynote speech and indicated the situation of their refusal in his opening: "This opportunity I have for years sought and little dreamed I would have to be nominated for governor to gain the coveted privilege of addressing you!"

Mr. Ingersoll overran his time but was generously applauded. He was preceded by Judge Dill, the Democratic candidate, and followed by Harold Hoffman, Republican. This was a very successful start.

To those doubting Thomases who think a political campaign does not advance our cause we commend a reading of passages from Mr. Ingersoll's stirring and studied talk! It was transmitted to 400 that most needed it, and is an entering wedge to a hundred thousand that may be reached by it during the campaign.

"But! we must go a step farther, beyond that question of weight and bulk of tax burden; without respect to the *amount* of taxes, there is something more vital, and that is the source of taxation.

"It should not be forgotten that a tax levied on any product of labor is added to the cost and price of that product, thereby making it dearer; on the other hand, if we collect our land values and all social values in lieu of taxation, for public expenses, we make land cheap, by encouraging the owner of land to put it into use; and please don't forget, my friends, that land is the source of every job; it is the source of all our subsistence, it is the source of all our employment of capital and labor.

"The crux of all our present taxation is its crushing force on the mass-buying power; it practically doubles the cost of everything bought and therefore cuts in half

the volume of buying and so makes half the business depression and unemployment.

"This is no class plea; the blighting effect of taxing wealth, capital and income is felt perpendicularly from the humblest worker, farmer, home owner, consumer—and through them—up to the greatest industrial corporation; it starts with 50 million laborers and farmers, but does not stop until, in explosions like that of 1929, it prostrates all business and industry.

"Here lies the road to tax economy—one tax in place of 100; and simple, easy to apply and collect; when we come to the point of collecting only social values instead of 'taxing everything,' we will have arrived at the minimum cost of government; first, by the obvious savings involved in having one simple tax in place of 100 complicated ones second, having an honest basis of finance. Graft and inefficiency will be discouraged and eventually disappear."

Lakewood Kiwanis and Civic Club, May 29.—6:30 dinner; 60 present. Talked 35 minutes and had a very fine quiz lasting about two hours. Mr. Charles Hech was present and invited Mr. Ingersoll to spend the night at his Manhattan Hotel.

Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh was with us on May 31.—Mayor McNair appeared with Mr. Ingersoll at a special luncheon of representative women from the various clubs called by Mrs. Manning of the *Jersey Journal* staff at the Y. W. C. A., Jersey City; 25 present. Mr. McNair talked of the Pittsburgh Plan for 10 minutes and Mr. Ingersoll followed in a 5-minute talk on the importance of taxation to women whom Mr. Ingersoll called the greatest taxpayers. A good story appeared in the *Jersey Journal* the party including Mr. Bouton and Mr. Allen, then went to call on Mayor Ellenstein of Newark at the City Hall Mayor Ellenstein being in Washington, Mr. McNair and Mr. Ingersoll talked with Deputy Kelly and reporters and a photograph was taken which appeared with a nice story in the *Newark Ledger*. A meeting was arranged with the Traffic Manager Association but because the Mayor had to return to Pittsburgh it was cancelled.

The Mayor and Mr. Ingersoll, however, went on the invitation of Mr. A. Edward Williamson, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, to the Community House meeting at West Orange where the Mayor spoke briefly to a limited but very fine audience.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Club, East Orange, June 7.—Invitation of Bourke O'Brien; mixed crowd of 50 men and women. Regular political club in a strong Republican town. Mr. Ingersoll spoke 40 minutes, working in much local information. Found them intensely interested, and asking questions before the meeting but very few after the talk. Promised a large meeting in September which will be very important.

Mr. Ingersoll has established a world's record, we are advised, by broadcasting 283 times this year. The broadcasts are distributed as follows: WABC, 1; WBNJ, 77; WDAS, 63; WOV, 7; WAAM, 3; WLTH, 22; WHOM,

36; WVFW, 12; WCNW, 46; WBBC, 10; and WWRL, 6; or 283.

Mr. Ingersoll's current broadcasting schedule is as follows:

Monday, WVFW, 8:15 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Tuesday, WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Wednesday, WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.); WBBC, 3:30 p. m., (1400 k.c.). Thursday, WLTH, 9 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Friday, WVFW, 8:45 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WDAS, 5:15 p. m., (1370 k.c.). Saturday, WDAS, 10:15 a. m.; WDAS, 9:45 p. m.

His broadcasting is being curtailed now because more of his time has to be devoted to his campaign, which is now under way to an earlier and stronger start than was anticipated. We have a barrage of publicity throughout the state; 200 clippings to date. Here is a typical reference which shows the impression he has made and that he is regarded as a real candidate.

"It should not be overlooked that New Jersey has a third candidate' for governor this year, in the person of Charles H. Ingersoll, running under the title of Tax-Relief Candidate."—Union (N. J.) *Dispatch*.

The *Literary Digest* published the following with Mr. Ingersoll's face photograph on their page entitled "They Stand Out from the Crowd" in the issue of June 16.

"Charles H. Ingersoll, retired dollar-watch maker, will be the Single Tax candidate for Governor of New Jersey in the fall. He was brought up on a Michigan farm, but decided there was more of a career to manufacturing watches on a mass production-scale, and is the co-originator of the 'Watch that made the dollar famous.' At one time his firm produced 15,000 watches a day and he estimates that they sold more than 100,000,000 watches. Mr. Ingersoll speaks in a low, resonant, sonorous voice, likes to talk and converse with the people and be heckled by his audiences, rather than to deliver lectures. His campaign slogan is 'Plenty for Everybody.'"

The *Fortune* magazine published the following with photograph of Mr. Ingersoll and the bust of Henry George, "almost Mayor of New York." This was in the column called "Faces of the Month."

"In the '80's Single Tax was a potentially important movement. Now it comes only sporadically into the news. The latest news is that Charles H. Ingersoll, retired dollar-watch manufacturer, will be a Single Tax candidate for Governor of New Jersey this fall."

Mr. Ingersoll is going on tour during the last week in June. His meetings so far are as follows:

June 25.—Binghamton Chamber of Commerce, luncheon, J. Kennard Johnson, secretary. This was arranged by L. W. Statler of our office.

June 25.—Cortland Exchange Club, dinner meeting at the Cortland Country Club. This was also arranged through the efforts of L. W. Statler.

June 26.—Rochester Rotary Club, luncheon at the

Powers Hotel and broadcast over WHAM. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham, of Lockport.

June 27.—Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs luncheon. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham.

June 28.—Buffalo Rotary at the Hotel Statler, a luncheon. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham.

June 29.—Henry George Club luncheon at Pittsburgh. Arranged by Percy R. Williams.

Other arrangements are being made for meetings, full report of which will appear in the next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Another entering wedge was made with Mr. Ingersoll's appeal to the colored population of New Jersey, June 22, at a meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Kenney Memorial Hospital in honor of Mrs. Grace Fenderson, at the Separate Battalion Armory, Newark.

MARCELLA STUTMAN, Office Secretary.

## The Tories Go the Limit

By CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

THE action of the so-called "national" government of Great Britain, in wiping out the land tax clauses of Mr. Snowden's budget of 1931, although little noticed in this country, was undoubtedly one of the most significant political events in the politics of Great Britain since the ousting three years ago of the Labor Government by a Coalition headed by Premier Ramsay MacDonald, and which included besides Mr. Snowden, Mr. Thomas, a former power in the Labor Cabinet, and Sir John Simon, Mr. Runciman, and Sir Godfrey Collins, representing a wing of the Liberal Party. While the personnel of the "national" cabinet was overwhelmingly Tory in complexion, the pretense that the aggregation was to be rather non-partisan and "national," was, for a time at least, outwardly maintained.

It is to be remembered that one of the last acts of Philip Snowden's service as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor Cabinet was to force through Parliament in the first Budget of 1931, the proposal for a tax upon the site value of all land, to become operative in 1933. In the elections that followed the dissolution of the Labor Government, Snowden's speeches and his high prestige and personal following undoubtedly contributed toward the great political overturn that brought the "national" government into power. Upon his entry into the national cabinet, Mr. Snowden, because of the prevalent agitation for economies of administration, consented to the suspension of the work that had already been undertaken under his Budget Act to set up a system of valuation of the privately-owned land of Great Britain.

In the following year, the Tories, always representative of the land-owning class, and with an overwhelming majority in Parliament, undertook to wholly expunge land value taxation from the government programme.

Meantime Philip Snowden had left the government because of his disagreement with its protectionist tendencies, and without compromise of his radical principles, had entered the House of Lords, as Viscount Snowden. Mr. Baldwin placated his Tory supporters, who were demanding the death of land valuation, by declaring that it would be behaving indecently to a man like Lord Snowden to destroy the land valuation statute which Mr. Baldwin described as a "statute in coma." He made reference to the great help that Philip Snowden had given the government in the elections.

Now it appears that the Tory landlords have never ceased to insist upon the complete wiping out of the threat to their special privileges, involved in the proposal for land value taxation, and Mr. Chamberlain, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in the recent budget has yielded to the landlord supporters of the government and abolished the Snowden scheme entirely.

The Manchester *Guardian* in an editorial headed "Toryism Triumphant" is bitter in its references to the cynical disregard for their implied pledges, now manifested by the government, and of the obviously indefensible acquiescence in the Tory policy by Premier MacDonald, Mr. Thomas, Sir John Simon and other Liberal leaders, who were once staunch supporters of the land value policy. The *Guardian* says:

"The parallel with the Lloyd George land taxes of 1909 is painfully close. In such another demoralizing Coalition their author gave way (in 1920) to a Tory ramp, and the taxes were dropped."

Meantime, Prime Minister MacDonald has been silent as far as Parliament goes. The *Guardian* says of him and the other former supporters of land value taxation: "They have become so tame that they will swallow anything."

In a letter to Secretary Madsen of the Georgist United Committee, the Prime Minister made a rather weak defense of the action taken by his Cabinet, the substance of his argument being to the effect that the Snowden Act was not comprehensive enough in any event "to enable a great deal to be done."

Lord Snowden, commenting on the decision of the government, was bitter in his attacks upon the apostacy of the Prime Minister. He says:

"I suppose this has been done at the instigation of the Prime Minister, who wants to give his Tory colleagues further proof of the thoroughness of his conversion to Toryism. According to the statements of the Tory Ministers at the time that the valuation was suspended, it would have been a humiliation for Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Thomas and Lord Sankey if the government repealed the valuation altogether. It will be interesting to hear whether what would have been a humiliation two years ago to these Ministers is no longer a humiliation. The only honest explanation they can give will be that nothing the Tory Ministers can do to make the Prime Minister swallow his former principles can humiliate him still deeper."

One effect of the action of the government in this matter has been to stimulate an extraordinary revival of interest in the land value tax policy, not only in the ranks of the Labor Party but among a large majority of Liberal leaders, although Lloyd George, for the time being, remains silent.

Arthur Madsen, secretary of the United Committee for Taxation of Land values, in a recent letter to me says:

"What has happened was no doubt a foregone conclusion from the beginning, for the landed interests are on top and they have forced the government to do away with the Act in time before the next general election. It may be said, I think, that the government has chosen this year's Finance Bill as the moment for slaughtering the land tax proposal, because they cannot be sure that they will be in office next year. By-elections are going heavily against them as illustrated by the recent voting in West Ham district of London where the Labor candidate was returned with a majority of 3,464, to be compared with a Tory majority in the same district of 5,108 in 1931.

"The Government surrender to monopoly and privilege with the incidental exposure and humiliation of the Prime Minister has put the taxation of land values forward as a very live issue and there is undoubtedly a new awakening of the public conscience and of the public interest in this question."

I see nothing in the new turn of political affairs in Great Britain to be sad about, for it has raised again, in an acute way, the issue which must ultimately destroy the Tory Government. To any one familiar with political trends in Great Britain it must appear that the sentiment for land value taxation has been steadily growing, and is stronger today than at any time that I can remember. The position of MacDonald, and the apparent acquiescence of those other members of the Cabinet taken over from the Labor or Liberal parties, is a new illustration of the extent to which mere politicians may be led to abase themselves and betray their professed principles for the sake of holding on to temporary place and power.

But Snowden's character as a real democrat and as a statesman who consistently relates his public conduct to his public principles is again splendidly made evident.

## After Snowden's Valuation

By M. J. STEWART

SOME readers of LAND AND FREEDOM who enjoyed this scribe's account in July 1931 of the Snowden Land Valuation Act, may have the happiness to remember his summing up of the position: others who no doubt for good reasons disliked it may recollect it by courtesy. It was that the movement was in a more hopeful and a more precarious position than ever before: more hopeful because land value taxation as such was for the first time on the British Statute Book: more precarious because as response to the Edinburgh 1929 Conference had shown only one-third of the Cabinet and one-third of the Liberal and Labor Members of Parliament were even superficially and insincerely in its favor. Snowden was a rather half-hearted lion tamer, daunting amongst others the Prime

Minister who in eight bye-election special messages during the Budget campaign had never mentioned it, and stressed all sorts of irrelevant questions as momentarily urgent.

Upwards of 250 organizations, controlled by what Byron called "the landed self interest," united with the anti-Georgist section of Labor in a sham fight about a "crisis." Among these was the Boy Scouts Association, which when appealed to to refrain from this political action made the sanctimonious reply that political action was forbidden by their statutes! "Accursed is every one that maketh and worshippeth a lie." Sir Stafford Cripps was the right hand man of Lord Snowden in the Budget fight, but since the 1931 election has been the leader of proposals to deal with any other subject with maximum of violence; and the defective uninominal electoral system has not only given the Conservatives (about one-third of the electorate) nine-tenths of Parliament, but has assured that no Georgist (save Colonel Wedgwood) is there at all, though we are the fighting strength of Liberal and Labor groups in the Country. The great Labor success recently in London County Council elections followed a more cordial attitude in Herbert Morrison, the Boss, than he had ever shown previously; it has not since been relaxed.

The Conservative victory of 1931 led at once to suspension of work on the National valuation on the plea of economy. The 1934 Budget with its large surplus (due equally to repudiation of debts to U. S. A., and the prestige of all creditor States) made this economy plea untenable; and the wolf which tasted blood in the Rent Repudiation of 1642 showed its teeth again in repeal of the Valuation Act on June 6, 1934. The Commons debate was most impressive in its avoidance of principles! Mr. Neil MacLean, a Glasgow Labor man, opened with taunts to the Premier for being away at such a time. He added the useful pledge that if he could he would see to it that anything that was lost by this repeal should be added to the very first installment that was paid in Land Taxes under the first Labor Budget. Sir F. Acland, a great Liberal landlord who taught Lloyd George how to ruin Liberalism by differential proposals for rural land like the Acland estates and urban land held by Conservative Peers, lamented that the valuation (excluding such land as his) was to be swept away as a triumph of private greed; stigmatising the Premier's claim (to the United Committee) that the repeal would allow introduction of a more sweeping measure as "nauseating hypocrisy."

Lord E. Percy, a Conservative scion of the Northumberland and Argyll Dukes, made a strong fight for increment taxes on land value as the true Tory policy, through town planning authorities rather than the Treasury. An interesting view, not later contradicted by his colleagues, and indeed endorsed by Sir George Courthope soon after. This seems to be the more effective plan hinted at by the Premier. "File for Reference." It was again suggested by Sir A. Sinclair, a Liberal leader not as uniformly

hostile to Georgism as some others. The reply of Neville Chamberlain was as shallow as the debate. He pointed out that the Snowden valuation could not have been used as a basis of municipal taxation; that though the Increment Tax was popular in many quarters he had never seen any practical way to put it into operation. It involved compensation to all who made too costly a bargain, and difficulty in separating Increments due to the community from that due to the occupier. He emphasized the Premier's assurance to the United Committee for T. L. V., (he has never given a word to Parliament on the subject!) that the statute book was now disencumbered for a fuller scheme in a new Parliament. Sir S. Cripps very kindly said Taxation of Land Value was now dead, and when change came it would be far more sweeping and sudden. He also taunted the Premier, whose connection with the 1931 Valuation as above shown was not even passive. As I said "he is not far from us, but his back is turned and his pace rapid." Three years thus have elapsed. Lord Snowden showed his deep and unpopular wisdom by increasing his support of the Proportional Representation Society on the morrow of the Repeal. British Georgist leaders, Single Taxers and C. L. P. men alike, have as a body no conception of the necessity of accurate electoral methods and seem content to build up painful majorities which fall to ruin when the inter-party "Realtor" interests think well to have a new election on which the only sure prophecy can be that results will be different.

There is no reason why Georgists should be at all distressed at the position. The Increment Tax proposals must involve a valuation of all land value, which once made can be utilized for any purpose—all and more than what we have now lost. We need a leader young enough not to have been bought by "Realtor" interests, and jealous of those who have been. We need a revival of the great civic movement in which Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff once were so insistent before the party machines needed more cash support than members could give. At the moment the greatest figure in British life is Herbert Morrison, the Labor Boss of the London County Council, who as it is possible may be forging a sword of Conference of all the lesser Labor civic majorities (and Minorities): for so far as one can see there is no issue on which the Labor administrators in all parts of the country can unite in demanding reforms from a hostile Parliament except a wide measure of valuation and taxation by the local authorities of plunder now taken by Realtors. The sentimental socialism of the last generation is dead, and there is at the moment no substitution of Communist revival; but local taxation (and landlord's exemption) is a bitter and general grievance only needing a spokesman.

PERPETUITIES and monopolies are contrary to the germs of a free government.—Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Texas.

## On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

SPEAKING APPOINTMENTS, MAY-JUNE, 1934

(With the name of person by whom each appointment was secured, and the attendance).

San Antonio, Texas.—Lions Club; 100; J. Andrew Smith, Sec.; noon; May 16.

San Diego, Calif.—Exchange Club; 10; John S. Siebert; noon; May 29. State College, economics class; 20; Dean Paterson; morning; June 1. Henry George Society; 25; John S. Siebert; evening; June 1. Carpenters Union; 100; evening; June 4. Machinists Union Local 389; 20; evening; June 4. Ship Carpenters Union; 15; evening; June 5.

Pomona, Calif.—Lions Club; 75; Dr. Paul R. Shenefield; noon; June 7.

Los Angeles, Calif.—Stationery Engineers Union; 75; evening; June 7. Van and Storage Union; 10; evening; June 7. Laundry Union; 10; evening; June 8. Lathers Union; 25; evening; June 8. Southern Pacific Carmen Union; 12; evening; June 11. Municipal League; 100; Anthony Pratt, Sec.; noon; June 12. Government Administration Group; 20; Bryant Hall; evening; June 12. Roosevelt Democratic Club of Glendale; 50; F. J. Sommerville; evening; June 13. Western Statistical Assn.; 25; Bryant Hall; evening; June 14. Studio, Hollywood; 15; Dr. Charles James; evening; June 14. Parliament of Man; 75; Mr. R. E. Chadwick; evening; June 15. Health Club of Calif.; 100; Dr. Charles James; evening; June 15. Studio of Adele Hatcher-Smith; 15; Dr. James; evening; June 15. Forum, Eutrophegan Restaurant; 50; Dr. James; evening; June 16. Naturopathic Convention; 25; Dr. James; afternoon; June 17.

Pacific Grove, Calif.—Exchange Club; 25; Fred Workman; noon; June 19.

Watsonville, Calif.—Rotary Club; 50; Fred Workman; noon; June 20.

Monterey, Calif.—Rotary Club; 50; Fred Workman; noon; June 21.

Salinas, Calif.—Lettuce Packers Union; 35; Fred Workman; evening; June 21.

Palo Alto, Calif.—Town Meeting; 20; Mrs. Valeda J. Bryant; evening; June 22.

Stockton, Calif.—Central Labor Council; 75; R. D. Wilson; sec., evening; June 25.

Berkeley, Calif.—Kiwanis Club; 50; Mr. A. B. Campbell; noon; June 26.

San Francisco, Calif.—Labor Council; 350; John A. O'Connell; evening; June 29.

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### TEXAS

The influence of Mayor J. J. Pastoriza and his "Log Cabin" Single Tax associates of twenty years ago is a living force in Houston today. This is shown by the preference still given personal property and improvements on the tax rolls and by the growth of the city under this encouragement to industry.

And now a new leader is rising in Houston to champion the cause that has known so many men of ability and devotion in the Lone Star State. Bill Beach Trueheart is a lad of fifteen, but there are few of twice or thrice his age who can match him for his understanding of the principles of Henry George. Although his grandfather, George

N. Beach, was one of the early Texan Single Tax leaders, and although his mother, Mrs. Bessie Beach Truehart, is an equally strong Single Taxer, Bill got his Single Tax—as all must get it—for himself.

On last March 29, without the knowledge of either his father or mother, Bill wrote President Roosevelt one of the most persuasive Single Tax letters that the President has probably received. Bill is making many converts among his school associates and is planning to organize a Henry George Club to spread the study of "Progress and Poverty." He is determined to do all in his power to help complete the work begun by his grandfather and Mayor Pastoriza, and carried forward to the present day by such leaders in Houston as Mr. P. W. Schwander. This is what Bill said in a recent high school talk—for Bill is as able a speaker as he is a writer:

It was during Mr. Pastoriza's term of office that most of the factories now operating successfully in Houston were started. Capital sought investment in Houston in preference to other cities because it was promised freedom from strangling taxation. Labor was employed in the wave of building activity by such great builders as Jesse Jones. . . . Production was encouraged. . . . Business men and laborers alike prospered. The only ones who might be said to have suffered were the land speculators.

Mr. Pastoriza drew the inspiration for his civic plan from the principles of Henry George, the great political economist, as laid down in his book, "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Pastoriza died before his plan for Houston was fully realized, and after his death, the land speculators pushed Houston back into our present unscientific system of taxation. The city experienced a slump after that, but it had received too great an impetus from the Pastoriza plan to fall far behind. . . . If we had such a system again we would have good times again. The depression would be over as far as Houston is concerned. If we had this Single Tax on land values all over the nation the depression would be gone as far as the nation would be concerned.

OTHER TEXAS NOTES. Judge Clarence A. Teagle, old-guard Houston Single Taxer, is campaign manager for Hon. James V. Allred, candidate for Governor of Texas. Mr. Allred is unalterably opposed to the sales tax. . . . Attorney Robert Ring, Houston Single Taxer, is son of the late H. F. Ring, author of "The Case Plainly Stated" and "The Problem of the Unemployed." . . . Mark S. Engleman of Dallas, whose Single Tax letters appear frequently in the press, is brother of the Kansas City Single Taxer, Frank J. Engleman. . . . In an able editorial in the April issue of *The Pitchfork*, Pitchfork Smith of Dallas stated that, "If Roosevelt's New Deal succeeds one hundred per cent the land speculators will take it all in increased rents. Every business man who has paid high rents through a period of good times knows this is the truth." Mr. Smith's speech on "The Squirrel Philosophy" was reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian* England. . . . Mr. J. R. Fuchs and March Fuchs are an ideal father and son combination. They are associated together in law and are as one on the philosophy of Henry George. Mark is a recent graduate of the University of Texas. . . . One of the many convert

of William A. Black, secretary of the Single Tax League of Texas, is Mr. E. P. Haye, youthful manager of the L. C. Smith typewriter agency in San Antonio. One of Mr. Haye's converts is J. Andrew Smith, secretary of the Lions Club, who arranged for Mr. Monroe's appearance before an important meeting of that organization. . . Judge R. B. Minor of San Antonio has made a valuable contribution to the science of government, in a pamphlet, "A Plea for Majority Elections in Texas." Judge Minor, though himself a staunch Single Taxer, is father of Robert Minor, recent Communist candidate for Mayor of New York City. . . . Mayor R. E. Sherman of El Paso is acquainted with the writings of Henry George. . . . Walter E. Stockwell, city planner of El Paso, recently read the "Philosophy of Henry George," by Dr. Geiger.

### CALIFORNIA

The skill of the politician is combined with the idealism of the social reformer in Judge Jackson H. Ralston's proposed amendment to the California State Constitution.

Popular resentment against the California sales tax is so great that nearly every candidate for public office advocates either modification or abolition of the present two and one-half per cent levy. The forces of privileges in their greed and the politicians in their servility overstepped the bounds of political propriety when they imposed an unjust tax that the common man could understand as well as feel. The goose sees how he is being plucked.

In the people's resentment against the sales tax, Judge Ralston perceived a lever by which the greater part of the weight of taxation might be raised from the backs of labor and industry. With the wisdom of the statesman (for what is a statesman but a public servant who beats the politicians at their own game?), Judge Ralston has drafted a measure that abolishes the sales tax forever, but which also repeals all taxes on tangible personal property and buildings gradually over a five year period, substituting land value taxation.

The proposed amendment is so drawn that it appeals to all groups. It appeals to farmers and has been endorsed by farm organizations because it particularly specifies that "all fencing, drainage, vineyards, orchards, growing crops, and the like," shall be entirely exempt from taxation. It appeals to organized labor and has been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor because Labor can easily see that the sales tax means a reduction in wages while the exemption of improvements means more jobs and higher wages. It appeals to small home owners because it provides for the immediate exemption of \$1,000 of the assessed value of buildings on declared homesteads. It appeals to small business men because they have found it difficult to collect the irksome sales tax.

Thus is seen how it may be possible, as Henry George said, to secure "a union of political forces strong enough to carry" our measure into practical effort. Victory at

the polls in November is assured to an unprecedented degree for a measure of such far reaching importance.

The opposing forces, of course, have raised a war chest to fight the measure. Newspapers will be silent or will oppose. But in Judge Ralston is the rallying point for the widest possible range of supporters. All have confidence in him. All who work with him come to share his enthusiasm and his well founded hope that the birthplace of "Progress and Poverty" may yet lead the way toward economic democracy.

There is a growing realization on the part of all who consider the proposed amendment that in its provisions lies the programme of economic reform that can be adopted, that can be administered, and that will have immediate effect in opening unlimited opportunities for employment and production in all fields.

The officers and advisers of the Tax Relief Campaign Committee include two candidates for Governor, labor officials, famous writers, university professors, and Single Taxers, old and new, in their various walks of life.

In San Diego we find an active Henry George Society with John S. Siebert, architect and former resident of Cumberland, Md., as president, and Mr. E. M. Stangland, formerly of Chicago, as secretary. Mr. Siebert and Mr. Stangland are joined in their determined efforts by Silas S. Taber, Ray H. Taber, Grant and Elsie Webster, Sid Evans, W. R. Edwards, Miss Louise McLean, Thomas P. Craig, Capt. W. W. Gilmer, Mr. H. J. Eckert, Tom Givens Dawson, Richard Pourade, and Henry Cramer, to mention a few.

Mr. Dawson was printer for *The Ingram Institute News*. Mr. Pourade was the editor of that paper for a time and is now correspondent on the *San Diego Sun*. Mr. Cramer is a convert of Mayor William N. McNair of Pittsburgh from the time when Mr. McNair was director of the Ingram Institute. Among other friends of the movement in San Diego are Mr. L. E. Claypole, political writer on the *Sun*, and Mr. Albert G. Rogers, editor of the *Labor Leader*, and son of a former governor of Washington.

In Los Angeles, Mr. George W. Patterson, president of the Freeland Club, is serving as president of the Tax Relief Campaign Committee for Southern California. Mr. Patterson is actively supported by Dr. Charles James, Mr. A. J. Samis, Mr. J. M. Wood, Mr. R. A. Jackson, Mr. Waldo J. Wernicke, Mr. R. E. Chadwick, Mr. L. J. Quinby, Mr. George J. Shaffer, Mr. David Woodhead, Hollis C. Joy, Frank H. Bode, Mr. W. D. Hoffman, Bernard Martin, Archie V. Hahn, Thomas V. Ward, Solon B. Welcome, and George E. Lee, among others.

In San Francisco, S. Edward Williams, secretary for the Tax Relief Committee for Northern California, has been laboring fifteen and twenty hours a day on behalf of the amendment. He is in constant demand as a speaker and together with Mr. E. Bakcus he handled the main brunt of the signature work in San Francisco.

In every important center throughout the State there are those who are doing everything to advance the amendment and the principles it represents. In Pacific Grove, for instance, there is Fred W. Workman; in Stockton, Mr. L. D. Beckwith and Mr. J. Southwick; and in Sacramento, Mr. Edward Adams, and Mr. H. G. Hecker.

#### OTHER CALIFORNIA NEWS

Among the writers identified with the Ralston Amendment are Lincoln Steffens, Kathleen Norris, C. E. S. Wood, Hamlin Garland, John H. Barry, Upton Sinclair, and George Creel. The latter two are rival candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Mr. Archie V. Hahn of Los Angeles is one of the State's leading convert-makers. Three of his friends have just subscribed to LAND AND FREEDOM. They are Mr. A. W. Nelson, Mr. Charles Burrige, and Mr. Jack Macartney.

Three of the most prominent men in the strike situation in San Francisco were Single Taxers: Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, and Archbishop Edward J. Hanna and O. K. Cushing, members of the President's special appeal board.

Mr. A. J. Milligan of San Francisco has conducted three ten-weeks' courses in Progress and Poverty since 1929. The classes have had an average attendance of thirty. Mr. Milligan is now organizing a public speaking class which will furnish speakers for the amendment campaign.

Mr. Bryant Hall, research engineer for the Regional Planning Board Commission of Los Angeles County, first heard about the Single Tax from Lawson Purdy and John J. Murphy when he was employed by the National Housing Association of New York City. Since recently reading Henry George's statement of the problem in Progress and Poverty he has been making a close study of the subject. He arranged two important appointments for Mr. Monroe, one before the Government Administration Group composed of several city managers, professors, and regional planners, and the Western Statistical Association.

One of the members of the Government Administration Group is Gordon Whitnall, son of Mr. C. B. Whitnall of Milwaukee. Mr. Whitnall, Sr., is chairman of the Milwaukee Committee on Tax Problems which recently issued an important recommendation for land value taxation.

Judge Ben Lindsey has been speaking for the Ralston amendment.

There are none who have been more devoted to the cause of social justice throughout the years than Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson of Glendale. Though her health will not permit her now to take the active part to which she has been accustomed, Mrs. Robinson is as always giving every help and encouragement she can to the progress of the work.

Two taxes were once currently enforced in England, a tax on bachelors and a tax on marriages.

## A State to Control Monopolies Only

By MARK MILLIKEN, M. D.

THIS is what I hope will fill the bill of "an intelligent rejoinder" to an amazing article by Henry Pratt Fairchild in the May issue of *Common Sense*. The amazement is not at its double-headed theme, to eradicate "conflict in all business alignments, and the struggle for private monetary profits as the main dynamic of economic activity," but he missed something, or at least did not express it. Why he did not see the superiority of "A State to Control Monopolies Only," over his plan of "A Non-Corporative State," is the occasion of my surprise.

He has little use for the NRA and the "alphabetic permutations" that indicate plans of relief. Nor have I; and I fully agree with him when he says, "in all the activities and expedients of the New Deal, venturesome and humanitarian as they are, it is impossible to discover any features of a thorough and effective recovery programme, and certainly not of a set of plans and specifications for a genuinely new social order." That they are venturesome, there is no doubt. That they are humanitarian, yes, because like the old woman in the sick room, not knowing just what to do, the administration tries a little of everything.

Prof. Fairchild says that our problem is "to find a formula that will eliminate competitive struggle to the maximum extent, while interfering as little as possible with the cherished traditions and emotional and temperamental proclivities which are as dear to human beings as material comfort or even security." And then he assails what he calls the individualistic—capitalistic system. Here is a good time to say that the critics of individualism are about the most rampant individuals on the planet.

Their individualism stands out in their writings, their speeches and their idiosyncrasies. They are, as a rule, non-conformists. They may be physically weak, but they subordinate their opinions to nobody. Many of the older critics were brought up on the doctrine of "rights" so well worked out on a biological basis by Herbert Spencer; but his epoch-making book, "Social Statics," is now 34 years old, and to quote from that book is like riding down Fifth Avenue in a rusty model T. So after lauding some principles and values which are in the bone and brain of every well educated Englishman and American—personal liberty, freedom of action and self-determination, things incompatible with state socialism,—he proposes this remedy: "the excision of the corporation from the body politic because it is the causation of economic chaos and personal distress." The corporation is regarded as a malignant growth in the body politic which secretes the toxin called *profit*. This is the view of socialistic pathologists. On the other hand, individualistic pathologists view the corporation as a

highly integrated phenomenon performing a useful and varied service, and only secreting toxins when restricted or abused. Prof. Fairchild speaks of the corporation as "this monstrous excrescence" and again goes into a very concise and illuminating description of its functions.

May I remind Prof. Fairchild that pathologists do not think that malignant growths have any function? These monstrous excrescences are masses of cells running wild in their anarchy and orgy of reproduction. So it would appear that Prof. Fairchild is unfortunate in his metaphor. However, there will be little disagreement in his statement that the corporation "fosters the development of the profit motive in all its most irresponsible, rapacious, and destructive forms." With this indictment he proposes the following remedy: *the immediate expropriation, and future ownership and operation of all business corporations by the Federal Government.* The italics are his, not mine, though if making any contribution, I should add several exclamation points. He admits that this proposal is radical and 'subversive;' but that "it is formulated in the engineering spirit;" that "it is an attempt to discover what means will produce a desired result, given a certain set of conditions to start with." Here I must criticize his evident confusion of structure and function. He makes the common mistake of seeking a desired result while ignoring the means of obtaining it. As an example, I need money. There is a proper way of obtaining it by putting up collateral and borrowing it at the bank. There is a wrong way, such as robbing the bank. The result (money) is gotten, but it makes a vast difference how. And so it is with many evils that crop out from human activities. Bad as they are, our frontal attacks against them are usually failures and the parents of more evils. There is a tacit belief in the old doctrine that the king can do no wrong in this plan of the campaign against profits. Prof. Fairchild says, "The people of the United States, acting through its Federal Government, and by due process of law, seizes the ownership of all existing business corporations, meaning by that term a corporation created for the purpose of making profit." Evidently the ethics of taking over something which doesn't belong to all of us, such as a store or a factory trouble him, for he plans to issue certificates to the stockholders providing for payments on the original stock, thus reimbursing them in twenty years.

Having obtained these "monstrous excrescences," the government proceeds to operate them on a non-profit plan. His conclusion is, that "since there are no profits to be made there is no incentive to produce beyond the consumers desires of the public." Nobody will deny that this is a valid conclusion. And here is another balanced statement: "Since there is no effort to put the selling price above the cost of production the purchasing power is always equal to the cost of production, and all the goods for which there is an actual demand can be sold."

Prof. Fairchild would allow the individually-owned

businesses to proceed as before. Partnerships may do the same, provided they are good and abstain from the bad features of the corporations. This indicates that the conflict in his mind between his latent individualism and the precepts of NRA has been called a draw. He admits that his plan is a "straddle between individualism and socialism."

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My criticism of his plan is that he has proposed socialization of things which do not need it, and has ignored the socialization of those which do. My thesis is, that *all natural monopolies ought to be controlled and owned by the political units in which they are.* That means railroads, telegraph and telephone systems, pipe lines, deposits of coal, oil and gas; rivers and harbors, large areas of forests, roads, airways. Being a Single Taxer, I am more than willing to join hands with the socialists, who in a weak way (much to their discredit) advocate the government exercising its right of eminent domain and taking over the land. This belief then leads to another opinion. It is that the true functions of the nation, the state, the county and the municipality ought to concern themselves with the natural monopolies within their respective boundaries and let the individual alone. I do not regard U. S. Steel or the Standard Oil as monopolies. They are big, but they are not natural. They could not have achieved their size had the government owned and controlled natural monopolies from which they draw sustenance. This is the crux of the situation. We allow individuals to get control of natural monopolies such as come under the head of public utilities. They mulct the public, and, as a remedy, legislators with no knowledge of the canons of taxation, proceed to tax them. The stock in these corporations, being hygroscopic, swells up and attracts the investor. The latter, now a co-parasite of the society served by this utility, draws dividends from profits. This offends Prof. Fairchild; he would have the government take such an institution over. So would I; not because it made profits, but because it is a monopoly in private hands. The profits are incidental and final. Paid out by a private concern they should go to stockholders. Paid by a natural monopoly they should go to the consumers at lower prices. I can see nothing wrong in profit. As an example, a man produces milk on a farm. He sells it at a profit to a middleman who transports it to a city distributing and sterilizing plant at a profit. The distributors sell it to a grocery at a profit, and the grocer sells it to the ultimate consumer at a profit. The "spread" between the price at the farm and what the ultimate consumer pays is often a subject for official investigation. What is wrong? The farmer is paying land rent to his landlord. He is paying taxes on his equipment. The middleman is compelled to buy a refrigerated conveyance. He is confronted with labor troubles. The owners of the milk-plant are likewise the victims of our obsession to tax industry, as are their employees. The same is true of the

grocer. The milk in its progress towards human gullets has jumped a series of useless and harmful hurdles. To obviate some of these effects of officialdom Prof. Fairchild would have the Federal Government take them over, on the homeopathic principle that "like cures like." Instead of having first things come first he proposes to have last things come first. I would tackle the fundamentals first with every assurance that the incidentals would take care of themselves. Sweet are the users of *laissez-faire* when working under conditions of freedom.

Prof. Fairchild writes, "Any one who is familiar with the role played by speculative profit-seeking in the creation of depressions will recognize that the removal of this force would produce sweeping results." My belief is, that the cause of depressions is an inability to meet obligations, in other words, DEBT. It is true that when the value of stocks fell and the buyers on a margin were called on to put up cash or more stocks, and could not, that the depression became manifest. There are two necessary steps to prevent depressions. First, take away the speculative value of land by taxing it at its part or full value, preferably the latter, which would be about five to seven per cent. Or, do as the socialists propose, take it over and charge rent for its use. That makes Iowa and Florida land booms impossible.

I think a splendid argument against Prof. Fairchild's scheme of governmental meddlesomeness, regimentation, and purblindness is his own statement, "the one great unanswerable objection to complete socialism has always been that it would be virtually a system of state slavery. With the government the only employer, anybody who worked at all would have to work for the government, and since such a government would not allow idleness, there would ensue an actual condition of forced labor. Forthwith there arise the habitual questions as to who would assign jobs, who would affix wages, who would be on the regulating committee?" That little paragraph is like a bullet; it hits his argument. Any argument based on fundamentals should succumb to that wound. But arguments based on incidentals are so shifty and attenuated that they are apt to be only excited by the thrust of a basic principle.

A state to control monopolies only, gets us back to the Jeffersonian idea of government, that it is best when governing least. A non-corporative state is a misnomer. Prof. Fairchild's state would be practically a huge corporation with multitudinous details, licenses, officials, annoyances, and assaults on the law of equal freedom.

IF "real estate" can not bear the burden of governmental expense then the government deserves no support. Every useful governmental act increases land values and automatically makes land able to bear the expense. Acts that are not useful have the opposite effect and the government must be indulging in a lot of them if "real estate," or rather the land part of real estate, can not pay.

## Democracy

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

IS our democratic form of government a success? This question is being asked more and more frequently. Italy is pointed to as having the most efficient government today and speakers before our civic clubs in referring to Mussolini, himself a Rotarian, are apt to receive prompt applause when suggesting that we ought to have a benevolent despot of his type in the United States. College men and liberals who might naturally be counted upon as the strongest supporters of democratic institutions, are foremost in the ranks of those who have become discontented with present conditions. Possibly the reduction of salaries has something to do with this attitude of mind and it may also be responsible for the easy acceptance by them of the programme of state socialism. There is a growing belief that big business can not be handled in any other way and that the state must take care of the unemployed and the underpaid.

Socialism is an elastic label. Years ago it was used as a term of opprobrium and the word socialist was an epithet. The socialist like the anarchist was a dangerous agitator. Then Christian Socialism was introduced and although the plans and proposals of socialists themselves are more or less vague and indefinite its advocates are now much more numerous to be found in the parlor than in the street gathered about soap box orators. The standard dictionary defines socialism as involving the "public collective management of all industries." Says Henry George, "Socialism seems to us like men who would try to rule the wonderful complex and delicate relations of their frames by conscious will." This is exactly what the government at Washington has started to do. It is an innovation diametrically opposed to democracy and if continued is certain to result in usurpation of power with tyranny. A benevolent despotism easily changes to a malevolent despotism. Socialism is founded upon the theory that the individual citizen is not competent to manage his business affairs but that he must on the contrary be subject to the management extended by the superior wisdom of government. Most important of all is the fact that socialism denies and ignores the existence of natural law and, therefore, substitutes in place of natural law the regulations and restrictions of puny men.

In this connection it is interesting to note that socialism has a tendency to lead away from that faith in God which is based upon reverence for His natural laws which are provided in every realm of science including that of political economy. Conversely, it is the universal testimony of those who have come to understand the full development of democratic ideals that this, by revealing the harmony and inter-relation of natural law, has given them a new faith in God. It is true that in Russia where socialism is now in force on a grand scale, antipathy to the church

had for its origin the corruption which existed in the old days between church and state and which was largely to blame for maltreatment of the Russian Serf, but entirely aside from that influence it is noteworthy that in Russia, as everywhere with socialism, there is but little room for religion, natural or revealed.

It is also significant that the Roman Catholic Church while condemning unequivocally state socialism has signified that it finds no objection to the democratic system as interpreted by Henry George. Socialists blame the competitive system for all of our economic ills. As a matter of fact the competitive system is in harmony with beneficent natural law and has the effect of providing prices on all commodities that are fair and just to both buyer and seller. This may be proved by assuming an imaginary sale in which by extreme altruism the seller endeavors to secure as low a price as possible while the buyer tries to pay as much as possible. The final result of such bargaining will be found to equal exactly what would be reached by the natural procedure of the buyer paying as little as possible and the seller asking as much as possible. Let us not be deceived! State socialism leads directly away from democracy, freedom and independence, to despotism, tyranny and ultimate slavery.

Most eloquent of all tendencies away from democracy and towards state socialism is the programme that was so quickly put into effect by President Roosevelt after his inauguration with his National Industrial Recovery Act. The ease with which this measure has thus far been advanced without any serious opposition is due first to the fact that from the day of his inauguration President Roosevelt has been accepted as a greatly needed Moses to lead us out of the wilderness of depression and who was gladly given carte blanche to go as far as he pleased in the steps which he considered necessary to restore prosperity. In the second place Mr. Roosevelt, an aristocrat in every sense of the word, has been able to put over a partial programme of state socialism which would doubtless have been stoutly resented had it been attempted by the socialist party.

The answer to this much mooted question, Is democracy a failure? must be made as was Henry Ward Beecher's retort to a similar query, "It has never been tried!" The real cure for an apparent failure of democracy is *more* democracy. Unfortunately, the science of political economy, as given to the world by Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and Henry George, has been neglected by our schools and colleges, being replaced by "Economics," "Sociology," "Civics," etc. Insistence upon the same inexorable natural laws in application to the affairs of government, which are readily accepted in the realm of astronomy, mathematics and mechanics has been replaced by theories based on expediency alone. It has been difficult for "Progress and Poverty" to be accepted as a textbook when its author was known to be without a college education.

And so the American people have approved a plan for the recovery of prosperity in which cause and effect have been transposed. Inasmuch as when times are prosperous wages are high and hours of labor are short, the government, forsooth, issues an imperial edict that employers shall shorten the hours of labor and shall pay higher wages, thus producing prosperity! With regard to the distressing condition of agriculture the same theory is applied. When the selling price of wheat and cotton is high the farmer is prosperous. Ergo, the government commands that acreage be restricted and growing crops destroyed, and it accompanies this command with subsidies of hundreds of millions of dollars in order that the crop shortage shall result in high prices! Incidentally the taking out of cultivation of millions of acres of fertile land has the effect of increasing the artificial scarcity of land, in that way aggravating the evil of land speculation. That this entails a heavy burden upon the taxpayer in addition to the increased cost of living thus artificially produced is a consideration not taken into account by the government. Needless to state the carrying out of these measures includes the creation of a new army of public officials at heavy expense to the taxpayer.

In this connection it may be of interest to recall the way in which the farmers of Denmark reacted to a similar situation. During the seventies the exportation of American grains to Europe reached immense proportions. The farmers of most of the European countries demanded and received from their respective governments a protective tariff which enabled them to continue the raising and selling of wheat and corn in their home markets. But the farmers of Denmark were made of better stuff. They did not pauperize themselves by demanding governmental favor. They chose the democratic plan in preference to that of state socialism. They decided to utilize instead of to obstruct the free entry of grain into Denmark. They wisely ceased to raise those cereals and changed their farming operations to include dairying, stock raising and poultry raising on an enlarged scale, the net result of which proved to be of decided advantage to them and justified the decision which they had made.

In times past it has been assumed that the Democratic party accepted and followed the traditional democracy of Thomas Jefferson, which stood for a strict construction of the constitution, a minimum of centralized power at Washington, a tariff for revenue only if not, indeed, "freedom of trade with all nations, entangling alliances with none," and above everything else that foundation stone of true democracy, "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." Today we are confronted with the fact that every one of these tenets of democracy has been reversed. The government at Washington is now working upon a loose construction of the constitution, the functions of the centralized government having been amplified to an extraordinary degree; instead of free trade or a tariff for revenue only we have a monstrously burdensome pro-

protective tariff which the President's advisers are said to demand shall be still higher, and the foundation stone of democracy has been changed to read "equal rights for none, special privileges for many."

How does it happen that the standards of ethics observed by governments are so far below the standards which are observed by individual citizens in their relations one to another? Whatever the explanation of this the very existence of this fact gives strength to the democratic demand for a minimum of governmental activities, supporting the maxim that "the least government, consistent with law and order, the better." And for the same reason this makes stronger the objection to state socialism with its abnormal power, regulation of and interference with the rights of the individual citizens. But the explanation of a prevailing lower code of morality with governments than with the individuals living under those governments is not far to seek. We have as a heritage the fiction that "the king can do no wrong." Modernized, this means that the government can do no wrong, that it has the right to do what it pleases. The government acknowledges no higher power to which it is responsible. It acts upon the principle that might is right. The decalogue is for its citizens but not for itself. The government may covet, may kill and may rob with impunity. This general fact is illustrated throughout all history, punctuated as history has been, with periodic rebellion against the tyranny of government. Of course, it is true that violation of the moral law and all other natural law by governments as by individuals is punished with inexorable certainty. This is why nations have perished. Democracy has shattered the idea that kings rule by divine right, and it has at the same time permanently established the idea that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

If we indulge in a little primary political economy and have under consideration the wages of labor which, of course, affect all wages and salaries, it will be found that when the number of jobs exceed the number of workers then wages will rise, whereas when the number of workers exceed the number of jobs then wages will fall. Wages are not fixed by employers, employees or by government fiat; they are fixed by the natural law of supply and demand. The object of statesmanship should be to so affect conditions that there will be an excess of jobs over workers. Every impediment, therefore, should be taken away from those forces which produce wealth with consequent prosperity. Wealth is produced by three factors: labor, capital and land. At the present time we find that capital and labor are mercilessly taxed in a multitude of ways, the sum of which is responsible for the depression.

Those who would scrap the democratic system, because, due to the inclusion of antagonistic elements, it is found to be working badly, must be placed on the same mental level with one who would scrap a fine automobile simply because its engine is working imperfectly. It will be found upon examination that the democratic system, per

se, is all right and not to blame in any way, but that what is to blame is a system of taxation which violates throughout every consideration of justice and equity, many of the taxes amounting to downright robbery. Take, for example, the income tax. This proposition was originally found to be unconstitutional, but unfortunately the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, and then this iniquitous law went into effect. Up to the present time it has taken more than fifty billions of dollars from the legitimate earnings of capital and with no pretense whatsoever of providing equivalent service in return. Only about two per cent of the population have paid this income tax, this in itself violating the basic principles of democracy. The government has in effect said to the taxpayer, "Heads I win, tails you lose," for when there is a profit the government takes the lion's share, when there is a loss the government is not interested. The law has been so complicated that business men have been compelled to pay large fees to specialists for its interpretation and even then in thousands of cases they have had to pay large additional assessments under protest. After costly litigation it is frequently found that the government was in error but the costs have to be borne by the taxpayer. The logical effect of the income tax has been to cause tens of thousands of individuals and corporations to close their books and to go out of business rather than to submit to being robbed of their just profits.

Then there is the protective tariff tax. It is interesting to consider what coming generations will think of those of us who are responsible for a tax which keeps wealth out of the country, which greatly interferes with commerce, which involves inquisitorial methods with violations of the rights of citizenship, and which returns to the government in revenue but a small fraction of the amount actually collected from the public. This has been and is the most costly of all taxes paid by the American citizen. The protective tariff tax violates the basic principles of democracy.

Analysis of all the other taxes brings us to the same conclusion: namely, that whereas the individual citizens when dealing with each other invariably make settlements on the basis of equal values exchanged, the government proceeds in violation of every consideration of equity and collects the taxpayer's money wherever it can be found regardless of service rendered. The democratic system of government can not be charged with failure so long as a system of taxation which violates all the essentials of democracy is tolerated.

Business has been taxed to death. Tens of thousands of self reliant, capable and honorable American business men, manufacturers, bankers and others have been forced to close their doors through no fault of their own but because of the unscientific and unjust taxes placed upon them by the government, thus robbing them outrageously of the fruits of their labor.

It has been falsely assumed that there is a natural con-

flit between capital and labor. This is not true. The conflict is between labor and capital on the one hand and monopoly on the other hand. It is, therefore, the part of statesmanship to relieve both labor and capital of the onerous taxes which are responsible for the business depression.

The third factor in the production of wealth, land, presents an entirely different problem. Land is the gift of God to mankind. It should be accessible to all and, therefore, as free as possible to everyone. It becomes free in proportion as it is taxed up to its rental value. When untaxed or partially taxed it becomes a monopoly, and through its ownership wealth is diverted into the pockets of those who have done nothing to earn it.

The territory of the United States is easily capable of supporting ten times our present population. The State of Texas with its seven million inhabitants is about the same size of Germany with its seventy million. Professor Switzer of the Iowa State College even goes so far as to assert that the population of the globe, some two billions in all, could subsist by intensive cultivation upon the soil of Texas. Anyone who has traveled across our country knows that it is sparsely settled. In the last century only one man in twenty-five lived in the city, all others living in the country districts. Now, largely because of the increased efficiency of labor-saving farm machinery, fully half of our population reside in cities. But we have the paradox of a country in which there is an artificial scarcity of land. This is due to land monopoly resulting from a wrong system of taxation. By taxing the land up to the limit of economic rent it becomes cheap in price and consequently accessible, and by so doing we would throw open to settlement and use what would amount to a new continent. Meanwhile the government is following the absurd procedure of maintaining irrigating projects in desert lands while paying huge subsidies to farmers for keeping rich lands out of cultivation!

It is a matter of common knowledge that there was little poverty with no unemployment, low taxes and a very decent degree of prosperity prevailing everywhere in the country so long as there was a frontier of arable land where the enterprising settler might go if not satisfied with wages paid. But now there is no frontier and the land of the country is in the grip of monopoly due to our stupid system of taxation. Fully fifty per cent of the land of every American city is held out of use in vacant lots by the speculator. The explanation commonly made in reference to the depression that this is due to mal-distribution is erroneous. Our distributing facilities are excellent. The fault lies entirely with inability of the citizens to buy what he needs, due to the unnatural poverty of the people. The procedure, therefore, for an enlightened government is not to command impossible wages to be paid or impossible conditions to be observed, but to take taxes off of capital and labor as quickly as possible and to shift this

tax upon the rental value of land. This constitutes the perfecting of the democracy of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Henry George.

## Washington News

ON the last Sunday in May, between fifty and sixty Single Taxers and their friends met in Riverdale, Md., for their annual gathering, a custom inaugurated when Colonel H. Martin Williams was appointed Reading Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1912, a position which he held until his opposition to seeing our country involved in a European War led to his dismissal.

For twelve years, the hospitable home of Colonel Williams—better known to his ever widening circle of friends as "Uncle Martin"—and his niece, Mrs. Jessie Lane, was a Mecca for Single Taxers and the scene of their annual reunion on or about the last Sunday in May.

About two months after the passing of Colonel Williams on March 8, 1924, his niece became the wife of the man who had devotedly nursed him to the end, James Hugh Keeley, a loyal and active worker in the fight for economic freedom, as he had been for temperance and for District suffrage, and in an earlier day, for the enfranchisement of women; and for eight years Mr. and Mrs. Keeley entertained Single Taxers and other progressives in the old home, which had grown to be an economic oasis in the midst of a desert of conservatism.

On August 1, 1932, Mr. Keeley joined his old friend "Uncle Martin," and for the last two years, Mrs. Keeley has bravely carried on alone, entertaining the Single Taxers and their friends the last of May.

Following the basket picnic, there was a programme of speakers among whom were George H. Duncan, former State Senator from New Hampshire, now secretary to Representative Fred H. Brown from that State; W. R. Gaylord, former Socialist State Senator from Wisconsin; John Salmon and Francis I. Mooney from Baltimore; George T. Pickett, President of the Llano Co-operative Colony in Louisiana; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, who recited two poems; Judge Lawrence Becker, Henry W. Selah, and A. L. Colton; Linn A. E. Gale, President of the Washington Open Forum; and Harlan E. Glazier, Secretary of the D. C. Socialist Local.

Western Starr closed the programme with a well-merited tribute to the hostess, to whom, in the name of the Woman's Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C., he presented a pretty and appropriate greeting folder containing a birthday remembrance from members and friends of the society. Mrs. Keeley, taken too completely by surprise to make any extended response, was soon surrounded by her guests, extending best wishes as adjournment brought the end of another perfect day.—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

"I do but hunt God's ain cattle on God's ain hills."  
CHARLES KINGSLEY'S "Outlaw."

## Chicago Preparing for Ninth Henry George Congress

"THE Cause of Unemployment and Industrial Depression" will be the subject of one of the principal addresses to be delivered at the Ninth Annual Henry George Congress at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, October 8, 9, and 10, and David Gibson, of Cleveland, publisher of the *Lorain Journal* and former editor of *The Groundhog*, will deal with this theme.

As we go to press, all signs point to a successful convention, both with respect to programme and attendance. Among other speakers of prominence who have been scheduled for the Annual Single Tax Convention are Mayor William N. McNair, of Pittsburgh; former Councilman Peter Witt, of Cleveland; Dr. Mark Milliken, member of Hamilton, Ohio, City Council; A. D. Waldauer, Assistant City Solicitor of Memphis; Clarence Darrow; Harold S. Battenheim, Editor *American City*; Mrs. Anna George de Mille, New York City; Charles O'Connor Hennessey, of New York City; Edward Polak, of New York City; Attorney Charles G. Baldwin, of Baltimore; Frank Stephens, of Arden, Delaware, and Fiske Warren, Tahanto, Mass.

The Programme Committee is in communication with a number of other prominent persons both in public and private life, and is hoping to have a member of the United States Senate on the programme this year, Senators Robert J. Bulkley, of Ohio, and James P. Pope, of Idaho, being among those who have invitations under consideration at the present time.

President George E. Evans of the Henry George Foundation has appointed a strong and representative Convention Committee headed by Vice-President Clayton J. Ewing, of Chicago, who is also President of the Single Tax League of Illinois, which organization is again heartily co-operating in all plans for this year's gathering. The other members of this Committee are George M. Strachan, Vice Chairman; W. E. Clement, Grace Isabel Colbron, Otto Cullman, Samuel Danziger, Charles R. Eckert, Arthur W. Falvey, James C. Fuller, Emil O. Jorgenson, Erwin Kauffmann, George J. Knapp, Fenton Lawson, J. C. Lincoln, Joseph Dana Miller, John Lawrence Monroe, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., George J. Shaffer, Walter G. Stewart, Frank T. Stirlith, Alan C. Thompson, Henry L. T. Tideman and August Williges.

All local arrangements, including entertainment of delegates, local publicity, and registration will be handled by Chicago Sub-Committees now being organized under the aggressive leadership of Chairman Ewing.

Arthur W. Falvey, of Omaha, will present the report of the Committee on Organization, which is expected to lead to a highly interesting discussion and possible action looking toward more intensive organization of Single Taxers—local, State and national.

The session of the Convention will be held at the Congress Hotel, where the Single Taxers met in 1928 and where excellent facilities will be provided, with a minimum rate of \$3.00 for single rooms.

The Century of Progress Exposition is now in the midst of its second very successful season and is attracting great crowds, and the special, low rates of fare offered for World's Fair travelers will, of course, be available for Convention delegates from all sections of the country.

The Dominion of Canada will again be well represented, a large delegation coming from Milk River, Province of Alberta, headed by the Mayor and other orators who made such interesting and impressive reports at our last Convention.

With Pittsburgh now operating under the new McNair administration, with Single Taxers in positions of prominence and influence both in the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government, and with Mayor McNair actively crusading for advance legislation for the further extension of land value taxation, it is expected that there will be a keen interest in hearing from Pittsburgh's new Mayor and other official representatives who are expected to be present.

All who are contemplating participation in this year's gathering of American Single Taxers are urged to make early reservations and to submit any suggestions to Secretary P. R. Williams at the office of the Henry George Foundation, 324 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh.

## Announcement by Mr. Collins

I AM pleased to announce that in future issues of LAND AND FREEDOM, the editor permitting, I am going to deal with some personalities. I do not refer to personalities in the commonly understood meaning of the expression. I mean just this: As our world is moved by opinion, I would like to "anatomize" so to speak, the opinions of the opinionated; of those temporarily prominent persons who, by the written or spoken word, are now seeking to direct the thinking of the American people at a time that seems to me to be more pregnant with tendencies and events affecting human welfare than any previous period in recorded history.

I feel that a not ill-natured attempt, from time to time to dissect the opinions of the opinion-makers and reveal their ratiocinative processes ought to be diverting if not instructive to your readers.—JOHN COLLINS.

FATHER COUGHLIN predicts a disaster worse than the French Revolution should the Roosevelt policies fail. Well, the French Revolution came on because statesmen of the old regime refused to relieve industry of taxation as Turgot had urged, and refused to put taxes on land values. Will Father Coughlin please take notice that the Roosevelt policies consist largely of the same obstinate refusal.

## Ain't Larceny Grand

TIME was when crime standards were low—too low—so low, in fact, that the piker who stole a shilling was included in the grand larceny class of the light-fingered gentry. But times have changed. The march of civilization has lifted, figuratively as well as literally, the spoils and titles of thieves to a higher plane.

Today the two-bit snitcher no longer rates in the grand larceny class. No sir, this insect of pikerdom is now where he belongs—down with the infantile misdeameanists, and rightly so. It is difficult enough for respectable pickpockets, thieves and burglars to maintain the felonious distinctions of their profession without dragging along these shilling-squeezers who once held their heads as high as any pound-sterling pilferers in the bloomin', balmy days of bonny England. Away with the blighters!

Today one no longer crashes the grand larceny class unless one lifts, in our intellectual old Bay State, at least one hundred sound American dollars, plus one cent. One must needs be careful to grab the extra penny because if one fails so to do one will fall from a full professorship in the grand larceny elite and find one's self down with the petit larcenists. One cannot be too careful of one's rating, in these days of hetic competition, and one should go upon one's "evil errand bent" prepared to make change down to the last, aforesaid, penny.

Our present-day statutes still play pranks, however, in offering distinguishment to money marauders. To wit:—

"Whoever steals in a building, ship, vessel or railroad car shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison for not more than five years or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars or by imprisonment in jail for not more than two years."

Stealing in subways, balloons, Ford cars and Moth planes is not specifically included in the aforesaid specific buildings, ships, etc., so watch your step if you would rate a diploma entitling you to state prison, a five hundred dollar fine or a vacation in a less distinguished, common jail.

If you draw a fine of \$500—in lieu of five years in state prison or two years in jail—higher mathematics discloses that the \$500 alternative is at the rate of \$100 per year against the state prison, but is at the rate of \$250 per year against the less pretentious common jail. The Burglars Union has not yet fathomed this apparent discrimination between the two institutions in this, our high-pressure civilization, but the Union is preparing a legislative bill to clarify the penalty purpose and to avoid partiality on tax rates.

But there is more, as yet untold and as yet unsolved. To wit:

"At common law, if the owner of property is by fraud or trickery induced to part with possession of his property the person so taking is guilty of larceny."

But, fellow larcenist, if you are really smart and can grab the TITLE, as well as POSSESSION, "*this is not deemed larceny at common law.*" So there you are! The more you larcenate, "by fraud or trick," the less risk you run of being pinched for larceny, but you jeopardize your standing as a master larcenist among the Lords of Larceny.

Let's get back to mathematics, however, because figures never lie, albeit mathematicians are not so consistently virtuous. You have noted the tax rate on stealing. Now note the science of figures in regard to petit and grand larceny. Witnesseth:—

If you grab exactly \$100, or less, your sheepskin proclaims your petit larceny proclivities and you rate not the distinguishment of a felon but only that of a mere misdeameanist, and you are entitled to only one year in a common jail or a fine of \$300, because you failed to steal the extra penny. Higher mathematics again unerringly points to the resulting tax rate of \$300 per year against twelve months in the proletariats' hoosegow.

If you are a hog, however, and pick up \$100.01 you then rate the higher title of Grand Larcenist and you are entitled to five years in state prison—or a \$600 fine plus two years' sojourn in a common cooler. Again does the science of nimble numbers straightway point with cold-blooded correctness, to the resulting tax burden deduced as follows. Without prejudice to your case, let's grant that two years in a common jail might bring you a moral uplift equal to the same time in our snooty state prison. Now simply subtract two years (common jail) from five years (state prison) and you have a remainder of three years against which you have an alternative of a \$600 fine—which equals an annual tax rate of \$200.

But we have already figured that (1) the *Stealing* tax rate is \$100 per year for state prison and \$250 per annum for common jail—which means that it costs you less against the greater, state prison distinguishment and more for the less common-jail appointments. Why? Don't ask ME. (2) The *Petit Larceny* tax rate is in the higher brackets, however, and sets you back \$300 per year with no recognition or privileges at state prison—you must in this case be satisfied with a common jail rating. (3) Only by crashing the *Grand Larceny* fraternity can you enjoy the lower tax rate of \$200 per twelvemonth or the state prison advantages.

Thus we find that stealing has a lower tax rate than both petit and grand larceny; that although petit larceny is of a lower order than grand larceny the tax rate of the lower order is higher than that of the higher order; that while stealing entitles you to five years in our stately prison, grand larceny (the grand-daddy of the trio) entitles you to no more than the least of the three titles of theft; that while *stealing* brings you no better reward than two years in a low down jail, the gentle art of petit larceny nets you even less, i. e., one year in said lock-up—which means

one year less for a greater accomplishment than is granted for a lesser trick; that . . . oh, what's the use!

What to do about it?

Let's put out the light and go to sleep.

THOMAS N. ASHTON.

## Here's a Sure Enough Candidate

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: My hat is in the ring as a candidate for Governor, and I have three planks for my platform which will eclipse completely into the shade all the other numerous aspirants.

First—Howard Jackson proposes to exempt all real estate from tax by the State, but I insist that is not enough pie to hand to our noble owners of corner lots, and so I advocate a bonus of two per cent extra, to be paid in gold (or platinum) to the brave men who hold on to their Maryland land titles.

Second—Every man who does a day's work must punch a time clock and pay two per cent of his wages to the State for the privilege of working. This will make them work a little harder and inculcate habits of thrift.

Third—Mr. Nice offers to let the kiddies play on the grounds of the Governor's mansion at Annapolis, but when I am elected I will invite 'em into the cellar and garret also.

All the other problems of the times will just settle themselves if you don't worry and will vote for me.

EDMOND FONTAINE, in *Baltimore Sun*.

Mr. Samuel Danziger informs us that Mr. Fontaine is a poet of no mean ability, a thinker and a philosopher. The above bit of irony shows where he stands on the land question.

## From a Columnist Who is a Thinker

THE Commonweal Party in England has more power, is listened to more readily, is growing faster than the party of protest of any other land, and that through peaceful, non-aggressive, constitutional means.

When it is considered that 25 men own one-third of Scotland, and that the church and the landed gentry of England have nearly shoved the tenant farmers and middle class into the sea, one might get the notion of a somewhat speedier solution of the land problem in England than in any other country because not even Japan has so dense a population as the British Isles. Yet, if the land of England was all used for the public benefit, England could support in luxury double its present population.—HILL BILLY, columnist in *Seattle Star*.

## Asks That Honors be Paid Him

HENRY GEORGE thought out the Single Tax as the answer to our deeper economic problem and the glaring social injustice which he could never forget. He devoted his life to making people aware of the problems of poverty. He is worth remembering. We must sadly confess that he, an outstanding creative thinker, has had recognition in every country but his own and ours. Here his name means almost nothing. In England every school boy must read "Progress and Poverty" and in Australia his ideas have to an extent been put into practice. But my wish is to realize the creative thinking which has been the patriotic service of some for whom there is no "Day" but who have swayed our ideas and directed our motives in living—should they not also be remembered?—"Whom Shall We Honor."—Address by MERRILL FOWLER CLARKE at the Congregational Church, New Canaan, Conn., May 2, 1934.

## A Great Name Among the World's Social Philosophers

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY" was published in 1879. I can remember what a tremendous sale it had in the early eighties, and how everyone was talking about it. In the year 1886-87, when I was a senior at Yale, Prof. Arthur T. Hadley (later president of Yale), then professor of political economy, offered an entire course in that book, and a large number of undergraduates selected it. There were lively discussions in the classroom, and Hadley's lectures were stimulating and intellectually provocative of argument. We all enjoyed the course.

When I was a schoolboy in Hartford, Henry George came to the city to deliver a lecture on Moses. It was called "Moses—The Great Hebrew Statesman." The speaker was introduced by the pastor of the Unitarian Church, which held its services in Unity Hall. In introducing Henry George, he mentioned the famous book, praised the author for his skill and courage and eloquence, and said finally "I now have the honor of presenting to you Mr. —" and then forgot his name. When it was apparent that he could not remember it, scores of persons in the audience shouted it. The lecture was fine, and I recommend readers to look it up in printed form, as it must be among his works.

The fiftieth anniversary of its appearance, 1929, was marked by a special commemorative edition; and the book has been translated into all the European languages. His other works have also had so large a sale that it has been said that his writings on political economy have sold more copies than those of all other authors put together.

A friend writes me that John Dewey said, in his "An Appreciation of Henry George:" "His is one of the great names among the world's social philosophers. It would require less than the fingers of two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with him. . . No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, can consider himself an educated man in social thoughts unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

Henry George was quite unselfish—indeed a noble character—and he unwillingly consented to run for Mayor of New York. He died suddenly during the campaign. Both friends and foes mourned his death.—PROF. WILLIAM LYON PHELPS. (Syndicated).

## PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

Among the pamphlets received are the following:

"What is the Single Tax," by George A. Briggs, a letter addressed to the Legislative Problems Section of the University of Southern California. An excellent statement.

"Economics of Democracy," by F. Mason Padelford, M. D. This is a pamphlet of 30 pages and cover and can be had of Dr. Padelford for 25 cents. His address is Fall River, Mass. Reduction may be had for those desiring quantities. It is an enlarged and improved edition of the pamphlet issued earlier by Dr. Padelford.

"Our Economic Crime and the Nonsense of the N.R.A.," is a beautifully printed pamphlet published by the Civics and Equity League of Washington, D. C., of which organization Joseph B. Chamberlain is director.

## BOOKS RECEIVED AND TO BE REVIEWED

"20,000,000 Every Day," by Otto Cullman.

"Government by the Principle of Moral Justice," by C. Lambek, Copenhagen and London.

"100 Years of Land Values," by Homer Hoyt, Chicago University Press.

## Correspondence

### THE POLITICAL FARMERS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have been wanting to express to you my special appreciation for your strong letter of protest against the suggestion made by Mr. James Malcolm that we should support the monstrous programme of President Roosevelt, and which appeared on page 59 of the April-March edition. I am today in receipt of a letter from Samuel Danziger in which he expresses the hope that the coming Henry George Congress in Chicago will condemn unequivocally the Roosevelt experiments. I agree with him entirely. I can testify that the self-respecting farmers of Kansas did not ask for the subsidies which they have been getting through the AAA, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. These things were demanded by the political farmers who constituted the powerful farm blocs at Washington. I gasped when I read that these farm leaders received at St. Louis assurances that Mr. Roosevelt would, if elected, give them what they had asked for. And was again shocked in reading of his successive promises of favor to the special interests of the live stock men and the silver men. Lippman and the others are absolutely wrong in assuming that there is any genuine demand for collectivism or state socialism in any degree.

Of course, the farmers are lapping up the enormous subsidies that are being distributed to them but all they really wanted in the first place was relief from the fifty-seven varieties of taxes which oppressed them so heavily and which has had the effect of aggravating still further the artificially high price of farm land. Kansas is an enormously rich state and it is an outrage that government money should be sent here at the expense of the nation and for the express purpose of increasing the cost of living to the impoverished consumer. Incidentally, the spoils system, with its new army of Democratic office holders, has been multiplied many fold notwithstanding Mr. Roosevelt's bland statement at the Yale dinner that he did not differentiate between Democrats and Republicans! But that is another story.

Wichita, Kas.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

### CIVILIZATION MADE OUT OF RAW MATERIAL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Every issue you publish a letter about changing the name "Single Tax." Henry George meant a license or permit for use of land, but, because he was dealing in economics, used the word tax or revenue.

The words, "liberty" and "freedom" have been misused till they are associated with infringement on the rights of others.

I am hoping, after this summer on bathing beaches and in camps, people will return to the city prepared to realize that civilization is made out of raw material.

So many generations have seen the finished product that they have never known the origin.

Lonsdale, R. I.

FLORENCE GARVIN.

### HENRY GEORGE AND THE NEW MAGNA CARTA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the year 1215, one of the most famous of all English documents, the Magna Carta, was signed by King John. While it is true that this well known document has some genuine merit, in that it aimed to secure for the people constitutional guarantee of a number of fundamental rights, particularly religious and political, it has gained a reputation far from being deserved.

For example, the Barons and the Churchmen forced King John to exempt them from the duty of supporting the government out of the socially produced land values. The Barons owned most of the land, and government was instituted largely to protect the vested interests in land. It was therefore only just that the Barons and other land-

lords should maintain the government and pay for the privilege of monopolizing the earth and the natural resources. Indeed, this was the condition upon which most of the landlords had held their lands. But the revolt of the Barons put an end to this logical and scientific mode of land tenure, a fact, unfortunately, that economists and historians in general have completely ignored.

However, the Magna Carta has become synonymous in the minds of most people with the precious ideas of justice and liberty, and it is in this popular connotation that the phrase *Magna Carta* is here used.

It is a well known fact that ideals have played a most important part in shaping human destiny. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man, first promulgated by Akhnaton (Amenophis IV, 1,400 B.C.), and centuries later by Jesus, has done much to inspire the world. The Code of Hammurabi (2,100 B.C.), the Decalogue of Moses, the Justinian Institutes, the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, etc., have called the world's attention to the need of legal and constitutional justice. The writings of the social philosophers, from Plato down, have inspired generations to visualize a social order nearer to the heart's desire.

The true Magna Carta—as synonymous with the fundamental principles of justice and liberty—was dramatized and vitalized by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty." Most of the myriad "glowing schemes of betterment" completely ignore the land question, which perhaps explains why they so often prove impractical and futile. Of George, it may be said, without exaggerated metaphor, that he reached up to the heavens and literally brought these ideals down to earth. At least, he promulgated a socio-economic system that would insure justice by granting to all mankind the equal right of access to the source of all wealth—Mother Earth. Equally important, his system would provide liberty to all on a common basis of equality.

Henry George's philosophy in itself may not be a panacea, but if any panacea exists, it must embody both justice and liberty. Since his philosophy aims to provide both liberty and justice, his socio-economic system can truly be said to incarnate the living spirit of the old Magna Carta.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SINGLE TAXER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your last issue you quote Mr. Charles S. Prizer as writing with reference to your March-April number, that "Your quotation from alleged remarks of Abraham Lincoln on the land question is the most sensational news of the year." The quotations from Lincoln to which Mr. Prizer refers are the following:

"The land, the earth God gave to man for his home, sustenance and support, should never be the possession of any man, corporation, or unfriendly government, any more than air or water, if as much."

"A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future."

If your correspondent regards these quotations as sensational, what would he say of a proposition that Lincoln's views on this question were not merely those derived from observations of land speculation in his Illinois days, but were based upon an actual knowledge and belief in precisely what we know as the Single Tax philosophy? Or that his interest in what we call the Single Tax was so intense that he brought it up for discussion at one of his cabinet meetings. To what was Lincoln referring when he said: "A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future?" To nothing more or less than what we know as the Single Tax, unless I am greatly mistaken.

Whatever Lincoln's own observation of the land problem in Illinois and elsewhere may have been, the solution was revealed to him in a book loaned to him by Senator Charles Sumner, the great Massachusetts abolitionist. This book was Patrick Edward Dove's "Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice," published in Edinburgh in 1850.

So great was Summer's interest in the idea that he had an American edition of either 10,000 or 30,000 copies printed in Boston.

Norfolk, Conn.

JOSEPH R. CARROLL.

### JUST A SUGGESTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

What I have left in the way of a mind keeps on working. "We" ought to find a way to obtain publicity for a lot of questioning of the current governmental economic experimentation, without expending much. I have suggested to C. H. Ingersoll that this is possible in connection with a little snappy, gossipy four-page folder, to be offered with programmes at amusement shows or talkies. In Long Branch three to five thousand such programmes are used every week, and there are concerns which get these out cheaply by using rotary perfecting presses.

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

### NEWS FROM CALIFORNIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Since writing you, the campaign in California has been moving steadily forward toward the goal of securing enough names upon the initiative petition to insure its placing upon the ballot for November. This week will see the filing with the proper registrars of voters in San Francisco, Los Angeles and other counties of some 80,000 signatures, and the other needed 31,000 names will soon follow. We may anticipate as the result that the citizens of California will this fall vote upon an amendment that will give immediate relief from a two and one-half per cent sales tax, and the elimination in the courts of five years of all taxation upon tangible property and improvements, provided a majority of the electors favor the plan.

Will the majority vote be favorable? We have to bear in mind that forty-two per cent of the voters on one occasion voted for a home-rule amendment which favored the adoption of steps in this direction, that as high as about thirty per cent have voted for the immediate taking of all ground rents for public purposes, and that we have the support at the present moment of the labor organizations and the socialists.

Since the votes referred to, the voting population of the State has we may say in a general way, doubled, but it is believed that now the swing of popular sentiment, in view of economic events, is stronger in our direction than it has ever been before. Further, the character of the State's citizenship is more largely urban than heretofore, about two-thirds residing in the cities. This factor renders it easier to get our case before the people, as well as to render less important the disposition of the farmer erroneously to regard himself as such a large land owner that his interests are allied with the privileged classes.

Personally I look for success at the election, though bearing in mind the attitude of the great newspapers controlled by owners of immense tracts of land, we naturally confront the certainty of misrepresentation. Our campaign must be made largely by word-of-mouth, circulation of pamphlets and books, and letterwriting.

We have been fortunate the past few weeks in having the aid of John Lawrence Monroe, who has spoken effectively before many labor and other bodies, and whose result of his observation is convinced of our good prospects of success. Recent material aid has come from the East only from Mr. Lawson Purdy and Mr. Blauvelt, to whom we owe thanks. Generally East of the Rockies the Single Taxers are oblivious of the fact that we are engaged in the most important campaign possibly in the history of the movement, so far as possible results may determine this question.

A few days ago it was my fortune to speak over the San Francisco office of the National Broadcasting Company radio, addressing farmers in a debate over taxation. I believe the results will prove this of value to our cause.

We have now to prepare for an active campaign running intensively

over nearly four months. For this we need thousands of dollars, and unfortunately have not even hundreds. Thus again I ask our friends in the East to wake up, and send contributions to Edgar Pomeroy, 83 McAllister Street, San Francisco; 212, Tax Relief Campaign Committee for Northern California, or A. J. Samis, Treasurer, 2422 North, Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, Treasurer for Southern California, or to me.

I shall not enumerate the list of efficient workers for the cause in Los Angeles, San Francisco and throughout the State. Suffice it to say that they are constantly increasing in numbers and interest.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

### FROM THE LATE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE U. S. SENATE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I want to thank you for the favorable notices you gave my candidacy in your issue of May-June. I hope I advanced the cause.

Ridgewood, N. J.

JAMES G. BLAUVELT.

### HOW A LOT GREW RICH AND RICHER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

An acre of land in the Cornhill area, London, is estimated to be worth £6,000,000. Strips of it have actually changed hands at a higher figure. If that acre could only speak!

Oh, I am rich beyond all dreams!  
Far richer than the pearl that gleams:  
Yet I am but a strip of land—  
An acre—muddy clay and sand!  
Two hundred weary years ago  
My worth was but a pound or two:  
Yet in those days I grew fine crops  
Of barley, wheat and brewing hops.  
Today I couldn't grow a weed—  
I harbor not a single seed!  
Yet I am worth six million pounds  
And richer grow by leaps and bounds.

Yes, I am worth six million pounds—  
Much more than many country towns:  
Yet in the latter busy men  
Work eight hours daily, sometimes ten.  
But I have never raised a hand—  
How could a docile piece of land?  
I just sleep on; I bide my time;  
I neither act nor spend a dime:  
I simply own a right of way  
For which men pay both night and day:  
For men must come and men must go—  
And that is why I richer grow.

London, Eng.

A. BLACKBURN.

### DO NOT DISTINGUISH

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am inclined to believe the administration as a whole realizes that practically all that is being done to improve economic conditions is mere make-shifting and temporizing, and that we must finally or as soon as the people are ready adopt more fundamental reforms. Incidentally, too many of our friends take over-seriously the money question and matters of finance. They do not seem to see that about eighty per cent of the allegedly usurious interest and bloated dividends are merely economic rent.

Tacoma, Wash.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

# EXPRESSES WHAT WE ALL FEEL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

May I express to you the poignant regret I feel in learning of the death of Mr. Geiger. Never but once in my life have I suffered such keen pangs for one whom I knew so little. And yet in another sense, though meeting him ever so rarely as I have, was to know and recognize the essential quality of his spirit. Not often is it given to a man to convey the growth of his soul, without words or attestations. And truly on the evening of the Dinner given for and by his School I felt that "the zeal was upon him." He was about his Master's work and had earned his promotion.

What his loss is to our cause needs no words of mine. But his influence in the two brief years of the School has been measurable, as we could see in the faces and hear in the words of his acolytes. And as that is all he would care for we must try not to stress the personal loss of so rare a being. Yet knowing how he labored and what he yearned for we cannot but think of the lines written of Lincoln:

"Lone heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,

Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came."

Yours in great sadness for the Georgist cause,

Vineyard Haven, Mass.

EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

## SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS—1934

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Our government must endeavor to secure to us "certain unalienable rights," including the right to life. The exercise of that right is subject to natural laws—to that Natural Order of things which was, is, and always will be.

Natural laws are logically referable to Creative Purpose, and those who would ally piety with advocacy of social reforms should implement their efforts with scientific knowledge.

The science which deals with the factors which are elemental in the exercise of the right to life is the science of political economy. It is this science which should be studied—it is the conclusions of this science which should be whole-heartedly acknowledged if our government is to be guided by fundamental considerations.

There should be an overwhelming popular demand that the study and exemplification of political economy should be forthwith proceeded with as a guide to those charged with the responsibility of dealing with public policies and as a means of educating our citizens.

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

CLYDE ROBINSON has a letter on the tax problem in the Los Angeles *Evening Post* urging the adoption of the Ralston measure soon to be voted on in California.

FRANK G. ANDERSON, of Jamestown, N. Y. has a column article in the *Swedish American*. Our old friend is increasingly active in the good cause.

MRS. ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE returned from her recent trip to Ohio where she delivered three addresses, one at Youngstown, where Mr. W. O. Blase hired the auditorium of the high school and sent out 250 invitations.

A LETTER from Robert M. Baker, of East St. Louis, Ill., appears in *To Day*, Vincent Astor's magazine, edited by Prof. Moley. Mr. Baker informs us that the letter has been deliberately mutilated, so that it fails to make sense.

The *Roman Forum*, edited by Dr. Roman, and published at Los Angeles, is an interesting marshalling of news and comments from

many friends of the work Dr. Roman is pursuing in California. The "Parliament of Man" is doing great work in the educational field. In the *Forum* for June is an article on the tariff and the Single Tax from H. C. Miles and George A. Briggs respectively.

DR. F. M. PADEFORD, of Fall River, Mass., suggests the formation of a nation-wide Dollar a Month Club in aid of the Henry George School. We heartily commend the suggestion.

HARRY WEINBERGER, than whom no more devoted worker for the cause is in evidence, has addressed a letter to O. O. McIntyre, special contributor to the *New York American*, who captions one of his articles "No Job in Sight." Mr. Weinberger comments as follows:

"I know of nothing more horrible in the world than a man ready, able and willing to work and unable to find a job. Your example about the grandfathers and grandmothers might put you on the trail of the difficulty. In their days there was always land to be had for the asking or the taking, and there was always, therefore, more jobs than men."

CHIEF ASSESSOR PERCY R. WILLIAMS, of Pittsburgh, debated the graded tax plan with Dr. J. P. Watson of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh before the Hungry Club of that city. Dr. Watson contended that the system had increased the taxes on buildings. Mr. Williams declared that the increase was due to natural causes.

REV. MERVYN J. STEWART writes us from England: "We are deeply indebted to you for your gallant persistence with LAND AND FREEDOM."

It is good news from Oregon that the people of that state defeated in May last a proposal for a one and a half per cent sales tax by a vote of 26,000 for it to 71,000 against it. This augurs well for the success of the amendment in California.

CORNELIUS BARSONY, of Arad, Roumania, writes us that he has been compelled to abandon the project of the issuance of a Henry George periodical in that country.

J. H. KAUFFMAN, of Columbus, O., informs us that "The New Dealers," the Library Guild's selection for the "Book of the Month," (April) says: "The ideas on which Roosevelt rode to office were not new. They were the ideas of Henry George and the tax reformers of 1880." Well, well!

A SERIES of articles under the general title, "Head Off the Next Boom," are published in the *Evening Citizen*, of Ottawa, from the indefatigable pen of A. C. Campbell of that city.

WE wish we had space for some of the many excellent letters in the *St. Louis Star and Times* from the pen of N. D. Alper.

WE have received a copy of "Proceedings and Reports" of the John F. Slater Foundation of which Dr. J. H. Dillard is one of the trustees. The organization has done great work in the education of the Negro and has published a number of valuable pamphlets since its existence.

*Tax Facts* for June has arrived, and under the editorship of Miss Norma Cooley continues its valuable work as an exponent of our principles.

EDWIN I. S. HARDING, of Toowong, Queensland, writes us: "I have just read the present issue of LAND AND FREEDOM from cover

to cover. Nothing can surpass the clarity of the answers given to questions raised by correspondents. I like the affable, kindly spirit in which the answers are given."

W. D. LAMB, of Chicago, who was the first to call our attention to the remarkable statements of Lincoln on the land question (see Comment and Reflection in May-June number) writes: "I consider Dr. Browne's biography as very interesting and really important. Dr. Browne as a youth went about with Lincoln, attending meetings and sleeping in the same room. Under the circumstances Lincoln would naturally tell him just what was on his mind, never dreaming that his opinions would ever become public."

"AN Ancient Remedy for Modern Depressions" is a series of articles under the above heading which have been running in the *Gaelic American*, (New York), since October last. The work is a valuable contribution to the literature of unemployment and depression. Its aim is to induce people to look at the obvious fact that men are unemployed because the laws prohibit them from the right to work and from any place where they can work. It shows the absurdities and the cruelties of the present system of restrictions, and the problems incapable of solution by the present system; absurdities and cruelties which would automatically disappear, and problems which would solve themselves, if workers were given the right to work.

The logic applied to every day facts makes a defense of present abuses impossible, and these abuses are held up to the light of day. No man who reads this series can retain the slightest doubt that our land system is at the bottom of our unemployment and depression, and that the time is ripe for the nations to abolish economic slavery. The author has treated the "dismal science" in a manner as interesting as a novel. The entire series can be had of the publisher of *The Gaelic American*, 165 William Street, New York City, at two dollars.

EUGENE W. WAY, ever active in the city of Seattle, appears with a letter in the *Daily Times* of that city in advocacy of the pending initiative measure to be voted on by the people of Washington.

WILLIAM MATTHEWS, of Spokane, Wash., is pushing forum extension work in that city. Meetings take place every Sunday afternoon in Redman's Hall, 816 Riverside. Mr. Matthews is the originator of the forum movement in Spokane and is in temporary charge of these meetings.

STOUGHTON COOLEY, of Los Angeles, Calif., long and honorably known for his services to the Single Tax movement, both as associate editor of the *Public* and later with *Tax Facts*, is dead after a lingering illness. He is survived by his daughter, Norma Cooley, who has conducted *Tax Facts* during her father's illness, which she has done with signal ability, and a brother, G. B. Cooley, of Monroe, La. We are glad to announce that Norma Cooley will continue the editorship of *Tax Facts*. Mr. Cooley was born in 1861 at Savannah, Ill.

FRED J. BAHNI, of Peoria, Ill., passed away recently of a heart attack. We remember him as an attendant at the Henry George Congress last year when he presented Mrs. Anna George de Mille with a bracelet. He was a well known jeweler in Peoria. He had attended a meeting of the No Tax League a few days before his death. Albert Henniges, E. F. Schentke and Dr. Canada Wendell were the Single Tax pall bearers. He is survived by three daughters. He was 64, born in Switzerland, and came to this country when about five years of age. He had long been a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM.

M. J. VAN LEEUWEN, of Franklin, Mass., who sent for two copies of "Spiritual Economics," writes us enthusiastically. "With a great

deal of pleasure and satisfaction I have perused the pages of "Spiritual Economics," the splendid product of the mind and pen of John Emery McLean. A special effort should be made to place this book in the hands of the clergy of every denomination. I am doing a little missionary work by sending out both copies to our local preachers with a request for their opinion and criticism."

OUR old friend Frank G. Anderson, of Jamestown, N. Y., writes us a letter of sympathy on the death of Oscar H. Geiger. Mr. Anderson has read of the progress of the School in the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM with keen interest.

MR. KARL B. MICKEY, of Columbus, O., is displeased with our review of Albert Jay Nock's work, "A Journal of These Days." The letter of Mr. Mickey's has been mislaid for a time and so we are unable to print it. He thinks we have done Mr. Nock an injustice. If so we are sorry. But when Mr. Nock, after a kindly reference to Prof. Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George," says "Nobody cares for chat philosophy," and when he also says that "the people would not know what to do with the Single Tax if they got it," we are at a loss to understand how he can be of any service to the cause. It is true that Mr. Nock was for a number of years co-editor with Francis Neilson of the *Freeman* and did excellent work. Since that time Mr. Neilson has published several works, all of them of service to the cause. That we cannot say as much for Mr. Nock's latest work is a matter of keen regret.

CERTAINLY the greatest Single Tax dinner ever held in New York City, the greatest in its significance if not in point of numbers, was the Commencement Dinner of the Henry George School of Social Science at the Town Hall on the evening of June 7. There were 150 in attendance, the greater number being made up of students of the School, the nucleus of the new army that is forming to carry on the work when we are gone. It was a revelation to the older Single Taxers present to hear these new comers to the ranks make confession of the faith in the doctrine of a just and better social order. Miss Denbigh, president of the Student's Council of the School recently formed, Mr. Goldston, Chas. Joseph Smith, young Robert Clancy, the baby of the School, and others were among the speakers. Then followed the remarks of the older contingent, Oscar H. Geiger, Anna George de Mille, Lawson Purdy, Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel, Charlotte Schetter, Bolton Hall, Norman C. B. Fowles, Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Joseph Dana Miller, and others. The remarkable intelligence of the new disciples was a revelation to those present and all expressed their delight. What we owe to the Director of the School and to Miss Denbigh, president of the Students Council, can never be told. The *New York Times* gave quite a report of the dinner, though the reporter arrived late.

ON the evening of the following day, Friday, June 8, occurred another event of remarkable interest at the Town Hall in a dinner tendered to Dr. F. W. Roman and Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of the *American City*. The dinner was principally the occasion of a welcome and farewell to Dr. Roman on his departure for Europe. He explained a number of novel theories he holds on the events that are transpiring. He held out little hope of human betterment until the minds of men are directed toward the land problem and its solution. Always he returned to the necessity of a free earth for a permanent solution of world problems. Mr. Buttenheim talked interestingly of city planning and taxation in the language we are accustomed to hear from him. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Society for Scientific Taxation and Walter Fairchild acted as toastmaster with his customary humor and tact.

IT has been the custom for several years past for Walter Fairchild to call together the friends of the movement at his home in Suffern

N. Y., for a picnic and outing. The affair was given on the grounds of the Mahwah River Yacht Club. For the enlightenment of our readers it can now be told that there is no such river and no such yacht club. But there is a little body of water and a clear running brook of more than average length that encircles the Fairchild home. If there is a more idyllic spot anywhere we do not know of it. A raft and a canoe are about all there is of the vessels comprising the mythical yacht club, and the younger picnickers used the canoe alternately for a row over the little lake. More than a dozen automobiles carried visiting Single Taxers to the Fairchild home on June 24. It had rained in the morning, so the attendance did not reach the proportions of other years, but about fifty came and were provided with frankfurters and coffee. All along the roads were signs posted announcing a Single Tax conference and directing the automobilists how to proceed. The conference was short and sweet, consisting of speeches by Walter Fairchild, Oscar H. Geiger, Thomas Wallace Swan and others. Otto Dorn presided. A feature not contemplated on the programme was an interesting lecture on snakes, with an exhibition of a number of specimens by Mr. McLees. The *New York Times* of the following Sunday gave a short account of the affair.

WILBUR E. SCHULTZ, of Xenia, O., apprises us of a fact which has been noted in LAND AND FREEDOM that in Article VIII of the Confederation it was provided that "All charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

"The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled."

THE death of Brand Whitlock in Cannes, France, at the age of sixty-five closes a useful and brilliant career of public service. He was American minister to Belgium during the World War and endeared himself to the Belgian people by saving many lives, though his efforts to save Edith Cavell were unavailing, and she was executed as a spy. Mr. Whitlock was Mayor of Toledo, succeeding "Golden Rule Jones," and it is something of a coincidence that as his death is recorded that it is in a turmoil from labor upheavals. He was the author of a number of books, including an excellent *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, and many novels. He was a believer in the doctrines of Henry George and was regarded as a Single Taxer. He was once a subscriber of the *Single Tax Review*, now LAND AND FREEDOM. But he said: "The Single Tax will wait, I fancy, for years, since it is fundamental and mankind never attacks fundamental problems until it has exhausted all the superficial ones."

ONE genial personality will be missing from the next Henry George Congress, our old and beloved friend, Chester C. Platt, who died at St. Petersburg, Fla., on May 3. He was born in 1857. We believe he had attended every meeting of the Henry George Foundation since its inception. He had been for many years editor of the *Batavia Times* and later president and treasurer of the *Batavia Times* Publishing Company. Albert F. Kleps, for many years his business associate, pays him an eloquent and feeling tribute in the issue of the *Batavia Times* of May 10. A frequent visitor to this office, and a contributor to the columns of this paper, his death is a personal loss. He was lovable and gentle. Many times we differed with him, but his beautiful spirit disarmed us of all impatience. No one could honestly differ with Chester Platt and hold any personal feeling in consequence. We

shall miss him greatly. Rev. Dr. George Gilmour, of the United Liberal Church of St. Petersburg, who presided at the memorial services, said in the course of an impressive address: "His memory will be tenderly cherished, his influence will continue in those centers where he lived; his name will be spoken with reverence." To his widow and surviving relatives we extend our condolence. He will be to them as he is to us a fragrant memory.

WILLIS J. ABBOTT, former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the high character of which is due to him in no small measure, died late in May last at the age of 71. He had spent fifty years of his life in journalism, and a short time before his death had published an interesting account of his journalistic experiences under the title "Watching the World Go By," which is full of notable anecdote. He was Henry George's campaign manager in 1897. We have never quite forgiven him for his advice to Henry George that he confine his campaign to a strictly anti-Tammany fight and that the speakers be so instructed. The story goes that Henry George talked the matter over with his wife, and that Mr. George finally said somewhat wearily, "Let them talk Single Tax." Mr. George knew that the speakers who had flocked to his standard had for the most part done so for only one purpose, which was to talk the Single Tax. It is to be said in justification of Mr. Abbott's advice that he saw a possibility of winning. That is the ignis fatuus of successive campaigns, Beat Tammany! And Tammany repeatedly beaten comes up again to provide ammunition for well-meaning but thoughtless reformers in the eternal but futile crusade against the Hall. Many of our readers know of the friendliness of the *Christian Science Monitor* to the Henry George movement. Whether this was due to Willis J. Abbott or to the intelligence of those responsible for the editorial conduct, we do not know. It is creditable to the Christian Science people that they have been able to maintain such an admirable exponent of the higher art of journalism.

In a speech delivered at Burlington, N. J., Oct. 9, 1928, William L. Dill, the present Democratic candidate for the governorship, said: "A fundamental principle of economics is that what a man produces by his efforts should be his, to enjoy and dispose of as he pleases, and that what the community produces by community efforts should belong to those who have aided in its creation. It does seem reasonable that a substantial share of the land values created by public initiative and investment should be drawn upon by government through a higher tax on these values than is imposed on other ratables."

MAYOR MCNAIR is conducting a very vigorous campaign against the imposition of a toll system on Pittsburgh's famous Liberty Tunnels to the South Hills, and the storm of protest against it has become so strong that it looks as though the County Commissioners will abandon the scheme.

SIR JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M. P. writes Bolton Hall under date of June 6: "The world has gone quite mad, but Single Taxers (or Single Renters) are too surely grounded to wander off after false gods."

WE are glad to welcome *The Jeffersonian Democrat*, of Jackson, Miss., which is number one of a weekly journal launched in the interest of Dr. E. A. Copeland, Single Tax candidate for governor. It is a virile paper, full of fight, and hitting hard blows for the abolition of all taxes. The editor is S. B. Myers. The candidates are to be voted on in the August primaries of 1935 which gives plenty of time for a vigorous campaign. All success to these brave souls who are making history. Roy Arnold, who is the running mate of Dr. Copeland, makes a statement on his own account and says, "The Single Tax is God's Natural Law of taxation." "It will get revenue and more of it when all other measures have failed, and will cost one fourth as much to collect."

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September—October, 1934

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## SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1934

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1934

No. 5

## Comment and Reflection

**H**ARRY L. HOPKINS is Administrator of the FERA, one of the many alphabetical permutations of the Washington administration, meaning in this case that he is head of the Relief Work. He tells us that we have on the relief rolls 7,000,000 children under sixteen. He says in the *New York Times* of recent date:

The conviction is that relief as now extended to the unemployed does not exercise sufficient curative effect and is generally unsound and undesirable as a permanent activity. There is no insurmountable reason why we should continue to give it. There is nothing inherent in the direct relationship of people to the necessities of existence—land, air and water—which should prevent their having a good life. There is enough air to go around. There are five oceans from which to recruit rain and replenish our rivers. There is land and to spare.

**I**S there "land and to spare?" Not for them there isn't. There is land for the Astors and all the landowners, great and small. But try to get it, ye 7,000,000 children, either now or later when ye come to manhood, ye and your fathers. No, Mr. Hopkins, there is no land for them because it is monopolized by less than five per cent of the people. Perhaps sensing that what he says is just not so, he adds: "I feel that we need to know more about this business of unemployment and its hazards." Yes, Mr. Hopkins, you do.

**T**HEN he says: "I think that under the circumstances we can be absolved of conceit if we say we are practical diagnosticians of the trouble." The remedy he suggests is a programme of unemployment insurance. But this leaves the problem just as it is. Fire insurance does not abolish fires any more than unemployment insurance abolishes unemployment. To provide for unemployment would mean increased taxation and increased taxation means more unemployment. Oh, you practical diagnostician!

**M**R. HOPKINS says again: "I believe the time has come to decentralize as much of industry as possible, and I do not say this as a follower of Gandhi or of Longfellow." (Two noted economists!) But even in Arcadia the process of industry follows the same lines as in New York City and Washington. If there is idle

land there is idle labor and idle capital. And if Mr. Hopkins thinks there is "land and to spare" let him go out and try to use it without permission of the owner and at the owner's price. He will find he is not half the diagnostician he thinks himself.

**H**E is half conscious that what he and his associates are doing is not a real remedy, for he says: "It is inevitable that until we become physically a better race than we are, there will be many to sieve through all the safety devices." So that's the trouble, is it? From ten to fifteen millions are out of employment because they are not physically fit! Were they physically fit when about 7,000,000 or 11,000,000 more people were at work, and wherefore this sudden decline in physical fitness? Ah, then, a thought! Is the present depression due perhaps to physical unfitness? And you a diagnostician! Come, Harry, think it over.

**W**E are a great admirer of L. D. Beckwith's *Forum* and *No Taxes*. There are few writers in the movement who have a keener grasp of economic principles and a greater persuasiveness in teaching them. But we wish he were not so naive in his propensity to set everybody else right. Even when we agree with him, which is most all the time, we are compelled to wish that he would adopt a different tone. In his characterization of Georgist papers he speaks of LAND AND FREEDOM as "cautious and non-committal on the interest question." He knows very well, for we have so stated, that while we believe that Henry George's treatment of the interest question leaves something to be desired, we accept his teaching that wages and interest fall together, that interest is economically and morally justified, and can be defended as a form of deferred wages. We have repeatedly said so, though in common understanding much of what is regarded as interest is really rent. We do not think it necessary to say this in every issue.

**P**ERHAPS owing to a lack of background in his knowledge of the history of the movement he makes a more serious misstatement. Speaking of Oscar Geiger he says: "Geiger, according to the *New York Times*, was regarded by Henry George as the economist of the movement, and yet Geiger was one of the Committee of Forty-Eight that founded the Farmer Labor Party." The Committee

of Forty-Eight did not found the Farmer Labor Party. As for ourselves, we went to Chicago as a body prepared to make our own platform and we took part in the proceedings of the convention by invitation, in the hope of swinging the members of the convention to our side. In another column will be found the history of what occurred from the pen of one who participated in that adventure, Frank Chodorov. It would do Mr. Beckwith a lot of good to freshen his knowledge of what actually occurred.

**B**UT as the following seems to reflect upon the great teacher who has gone it may be well to quote it as an example of how little qualified Mr. Beckwith is to speak on the subject. He says: "Even Geiger was drawn aside by the false lure of politics." Nothing could be farther from the truth. The reason that impelled us was the desire to accentuate the truth Henry George stood for. We failed by the narrowest of margins to capture the great convention of the Committee of Forty-Eight and the Farmer Labor contingent, with neither of which elements we had anything in common, and neither of which Oscar Geiger had any hand in forming. Nothing remained for us but a straight-out, uncompromising declaration of independence. This could only be done through the organization of a separate party. The motive that inspired Oscar Geiger even at this time was *education*, and it seemed to us that the party method best conserved this purpose. We still believe that this was true at the time. What Mr. Beckwith says, with a certain self-satisfaction that is a little irritating, since it reflects upon the wisest leader of our movement since Henry George, is not likely to inspire respect for the judgment of our Stockton contemporary.

**W**ITH General Johnson predicting that many features of the Recovery Act are destined to be permanent, and Prof. Tugwell hinting at the purely emergency character of these measures, we continue to be perplexed, as we have been from the beginning. Prof. Tugwell assures us in his very latest pronouncement that these were "essentially temporary methods of adjustment which could be modified or abandoned as industry attuned itself to an economy of abundance."

**B**UT accepting the Tugwell theory of abundance sometimes called overproduction, as responsible for the condition in which we find ourselves, we are again a good deal puzzled as to why and how industry should become "attuned to it." In fact Prof. Tugwell has left us in the same maze that he himself is in. He states that "the American people have given no mandate for the abandonment of our traditional business system." Wherefore then the abandonment?

**O**F course Prof. Tugwell reiterates his coarse abuse of the critics of the "New Deal," whom he accuses of moral turpitude. "Tory obscurantism," "wicked," "indecent," "obscene," are a few of the phrases which occur in a recent speech of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, all directed against those who for any reason fail to agree with him. We say now that no such preposterous statements have ever emanated from any administration. Washington has made us a laughing stock. It is difficult to see how Roosevelt can escape the responsibility for all this. We call upon him now to repudiate these utterances and to remove Prof. Tugwell from office. If a man in a responsible government position can so insult the American people it is time for the President to openly disavow him or share the responsibility. We are tired of seeing Franklin D. Roosevelt escaping behind the screen of his brain trust.

**H**E is directly responsible for all these absurdities and abominations, the withdrawal of land from use, the destruction of crops, the killing of little pigs, the processing tax, the oppressive regulations of the NRA—all the monstrous programme of interfering with or restricting production when the people are in need of food and the products of industry. Not Tugwell but the President! Not his underlings, but Franklin D.! And when the anger of the people breaks let us assign the responsibility where it belongs—not on the Moleys, Tugwells, Johnsons, Richbergs, but on Franklin D., the inviolate!

**O**F course the political economy of Prof. Tugwell in the address mentioned is the queerest thing imaginable. He says: "Under this rule they would let the farmer starve—they would let the drought ravage the prairies; they would tell the farmer it was just too bad that he was being destroyed." Who are "they" and under whose rule is this being done? We say now that nearly everything that is being done is abhorrent and monstrous. But we do not stop with telling only this to the farmer. We say the enemies of the farmer are land monopoly and taxation, the latter including the tariff which raises the price of everything the farmer must buy. If this administration really desired to do anything for the farmer they would advance upon these and kindred evils. But do we hear anything from Franklin D. Roosevelt on the subject of taxation or land monopoly? We do not. This is "Tory obscurantism" with a vengeance!

**W**E are often assured that the Administration know the remedy. If so it is very successful in concealing it. Will these self-styled New Dealers go down in history as the Double Dealers? If for purposes of their own they elect to conceal the true remedy then we cannot judge them as honestly mistaken but as Cagliostro's deliriously committed to a programme of deception.

SOME of the confusion that besets the average mind in its consideration of the social problem arises out of a misconception of the real relation of the employer and employee. Socialistic teachers have presented this relation as involving a condition of "wage slavery" in which the boon of work must be solicited from the owner of capital. If the position of employer and employee be regarded in its true relation of cooperation, the problem is at once simplified. We do not have to consider two classes, one the wage-paying and the other the wage-receiving, but of both classes, employer and employee, is dependent upon wages paid by the consuming public—the real employing class.

LOOKED at in this way we at once discover that the consuming public is the real employer; that the capitalist is not the employer but the associate of labor in the work of production. The two classes comprise the wage-receiving and the other the wage-paying class (in form at least.) This should not obscure the true relation. When Labor agrees to cooperate with capital a form of partnership is established which is morally fair and defensible, or would be under conditions that were themselves fair and defensible.

BUT in agreeing to a contract to work for a stipulated rate of wages Labor suffers under a tremendous disadvantage. Wages are determined by the man out of job and he is present in "good" and "bad" times. The man out of work is a condition resulting from land out of use; the two are inseparable concomitants, for it is land in use that employs both Labor and Capital.

IT may be argued that if Labor is to be paid in proportion to its contribution to production there is no standard by which his proportion is to be measured. We hear therefore of terms like "A fair day's pay," "living wages," etc. These are phrases of alleviation—they do not touch the problem at all. Nor does any legislation that attempts to enforce them. Yet viewed in the realities, it is a question of land, labor and capital, with land the determining factor. Because these three factors must cooperate in production, whatever goes to the silent factor, Land, as payment to the landowner is a deduction from the earnings of Labor and Capital. The silent partner contributes is land, it is true, but that is a legal fiction; it is not *his* land and he did not make it, for it is God's land for the use of all His children. And despite Scriptural injunction which supports these statements the Church has little or nothing to say about it.

REGARDED in this way the problem becomes immensely simplified. But ignore this relation, as socialists and some economists do, and we are involved in a perfect maze of complexities. Karl Marx, with his ponderous economic confusions, is responsible for much

of this. He is directly responsible for the school of teachers who in the number and character of their palliatives have sought to supplant him. Yet the problem is in reality so amazingly simple with its three factors, Land, Labor and Capital, that their failure to sense it is astonishing.

IT is true that other misunderstandings have entered to confuse the causal relations—and much has been made of them. The possession of money which merely enables its possessor to command capital, fanciful distinctions between what are called industrial and financial capital—all are meaningless phrases—and have been used to be-devil comprehension. It has even been urged that money—a mere medium of exchange or standard of deferred payment—"has taken the place of land as a symbol of power" (see Dome Bede Jarrett and other socialist writers). As if the process of production had finally excluded the land as a necessary medium! And writers, one after another, blind to the fundamentals, kept adding—and are even now adding—to the general confusion.

NEAL CAROTHERS, Professor of Economics at the Lehigh University, is one of the sanest critics of the present administration and the whole system of economic planning. His articles in the *Herald-Tribune* are full of meat. Besides, he seems to have a familiarity with Henry George's teachings which aids him in his outlook on what is being done. In one of his articles (see *Herald-Tribune* of Aug. 5) entitled "Where Communism Failed," he discusses the various Utopias proposed from time to time, such as Sir Thomas More's work, Harrington's and others. He says: "Only Henry George has been able to visualize a Utopia without collective ownership." He says: "Socialism is the religion of millions who cannot understand a paragraph of all Marx wrote." And referring to the many plans of the Washington administration he says: (See *Herald-Tribune*, Aug. 12) "The quaintly humorous truth, I think, is that there is no such thing as economic planning in this country. \* \* \* Like the Holy Roman Empire, which was not holy, was not Roman, and was not an empire, the new economic planning is not new, is not economic and is not planning. What we have had in the last eighteen months is some highly experimental and unplanned regulation of finance and business." Never has the truth been better stated.

SOME one ought to write an article on economic planning and its limitations. We pick Prof. Carothers for that task. He has laid the foundations in what he has already written. Referring to the kinds of planning which have been successfully tried, he carefully enumerates them, and says of them: "They merely translated into law the tendencies that economic forces were already anticipating, or that continued development required, or they abolished some outworn survival of the past.

Thus was serfdom abolished in Russia, slavery in the United States and the Corn Laws in England."

**E**VIDENTLY the kind of economic planning that succeeds is one that follows the natural order, and we are back again to the old laissez faire doctrine which the economic doctors in Washington tell us has broken down, whereas in truth it has never been tried. If the economic planners would settle down to the conviction that what interferes with the plan of nature in production and distribution, are the obstacles surviving from the past that hamper nature's planning, they would discover the limitations imposed upon them and re-assess their whole programme of artificial planning.

**W**HY have all the Utopias failed, practically as well as theoretically, in books as well as in the many experiments that dot the history of mankind? Because they have all neglected to take into account those economic laws that determine the progress of society, the natural forces at work, the real and wholesome lure of private property, the acquisitive nature of the individual, the cooperative spirit that cannot succeed without a universal or very general cooperation of the larger elements of human society. In other words, the seeds of their dissolution lie in their artificiality. Nothing in the economic world can succeed that is built up by artificial means, that is remote from the great social current of mankind. This is why colonies function for a time and die. Some, like our own Single Tax enclaves, have a modicum of principle that assure a longer life and a certain degree of successful operation.

**W**HAT we are trying to say, and what we are conscious of having said very feebly, is that all planning, on a large or small scale, must in its operation obtain general assent, must move in accordance with the progress of mankind, must leave the economic man free to cooperate with those impulses that are at the basis of the great social advance. And this expressly or by implication excludes any rule by force, but involves the principle of individual freedom. Nothing less than this can be permanent or enduring.

**O**F what interferes with this advance Henry George men are fully cognizant. It is true that liberty is forever being lost and forever being found again, but constantly renewing itself like the eagle. If we must abandon the idea of progress as a continuous and uninterrupted evolution from one eminence to another, ever upward and onward, a concept familiar enough in the eighties, we need not reject a theory of progress that, despite interruptions, points to a golden age as the ultimate goal. We know that God has not blundered, we know that there is a purpose in nature, that the garnered store of knowledge, ever increasing, is being harvested for the better

and fuller use of the coming man. To doubt this is atheism of a sort, as profoundly at variance with an intelligent conception of creation as the atheism that cannot divine an intelligent creator of the universe. And any one who divines a maker of the universe must also divine, though things be seen as through a glass darkly, a purpose at the end of the journey, a culmination in the rapt splendor of an age of which poets and prophets have sung.

**H**OW short is time in the years behind and the year that stretch before us! How many years of martyrdom extend from the advent of man on the globe and the years in which he shall come into his own, in which the forces for his deliverance shall be finally loosened and he shall read, with eyes no longer blinded, the enigma of man's presence on the earth! Back of all that the followers of Henry George work for is this vision of the world to come, of which this strange man in his strange book "Progress and Poverty," had divine glimpses!

## American Single Taxers Gather at Chicago

**O**N the eve of the Ninth Annual Henry George Congress, the officers and convention committee of the Henry George Foundation are anticipating one of the biggest and best conventions ever held by American Single Taxers. From all sections come reports of lively interest and plans for representation at the gathering, which will convene for the usual three-day period on Monday, October 8, at the Congress Hotel, Chicago. More than two thousand invitations have been mailed and acceptances and reservations are being received daily at the Pittsburgh headquarters.

The programme this year is an unusually attractive one with a number of prominent figures in the movement scheduled for discussions covering a wide range. The possibilities of Single Tax progress through political action and the power and prestige of public office will be brought out in connection with the address by Mayor William N. McNair of Pittsburgh on the theme "Economic Policies of the New City Administration," Mr. McNair a life-long Single Taxer and a very popular speaker and propagandist, having assumed office last January as the first Democratic Mayor to be elected in Pittsburgh in a quarter of a century.

Several speakers will bring special reports from the European scene. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, President of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, who is fully posted on the English situation, will discuss "Tories vs. Georgists in Great Britain." President George E. Evans of the Henry George Foundation, now Superintendent of the Bureau of Building Inspection in Pittsburgh, has just returned from a visit to England and Scotland and will discuss "Economic

and Politics at Home and Abroad" with particular reference to housing and taxation, Mr. Evans being actively engaged in promoting better housing conditions. Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh is now touring France and Italy, and will doubtless have some interesting reports of the latest developments in those countries, which will add to the interest of his appearance at the convention this year. Fiske Warren of Tahanto, Mass., also recently returned from his annual visit abroad, will bring the latest reports concerning Single Tax enclaves and other economic developments of interest.

Clayton J. Ewing, President of the Single Tax League of Illinois, will be the toastmaster at the annual Henry George Foundation banquet at the Congress Hotel on the evening of Tuesday, Oct. 9, and will speak on "The Psychology of Success." Speakers on this occasion will be Charles O'Connor Hennessy of New York; State Senator Marvin C. Harrison of Cleveland, who will discuss "The Single Tax and the Problem of Ownership Income;" Hon. Walter R. Demmler, a member of the Pittsburgh City Council, who will speak on "Pittsburgh's Progress in Tax Reform;" and Andrew P. Canning, well known Chicago Single Taxer, who will undertake to answer the question "What is our Responsibility in the Present Crisis?"

Federal Judge William H. Holley of Chicago will deliver the address of welcome at the opening session on the morning of Oct. 8, and will be followed by former Councilman Peter Witt of Cleveland, O., who will deliver a keynote address on the topic, "What Price Economic Morance?" Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh will be the guest of honor and only speaker at the opening luncheon at the Congress Hotel on Oct. 8.

Harold S. Buttenheim, editor *The American City*, will be one of the new figures at the convention this year and will discuss the very interesting question "If Henry George Were Writing Today." Councilman Mark Millikin of Hamilton, O., will explain how "A Biologist Looks at the Single Tax." Attorney Benjamin W. Burger of New York City will again present a careful analysis of "The Single Tax in Perspective," bringing up to date his survey of the status of the Single Tax movement in the United States.

At the public meeting on the evening of Oct. 8, Clarence Darrow is scheduled to discuss "The Darrow Report on the N.R.A.," and David Gibson, editor of the *Lorain Journal*, will deal with that vital question, "The Cause of Economic Depressions and Unemployment." Abe Waldauer of Memphis will undertake to answer the question of greatest interest to all delegates, "How Will We Get the Single Tax?" while Colonel Victor A. Rule of the Manufacturers and Merchants Federal Tax League, will deal with "The American in 1934."

That veteran of many battles, Frank Stephens of Arden, Del., will be the speaker at the Wednesday luncheon,

speaking on the question "What Shall We Do to be Saved?" Frank Chodorov of New York City will tell of the progress of the Henry George School of Social Science.

Among the speakers from the West will be Dr. Charles Lavery of Aberdeen, S.D., who has made an interesting analysis of the farm situation and will speak on the theme, "Un-Tax the 'Forgotten Man'—the Consumer."

Mayor Fred Pease and H. C. Moir of Milk River, Alberta, will be the principal Canadian orators, heading another large delegation from that section, and their addresses will deal with progress of the Single Tax movement in Western Canada.

Among other well known speakers who will appear before the convention are Attorney Charles G. Baldwin of Baltimore, who will discuss public utility charges and their relation to taxes; Will Atkinson, now of Bolar, Va., who will advocate the abolition of all taxes; Harry Weinberger of New York City will speak on the theme, "Dictatorship or Single Tax;" and Harry H. Hardinge of Chicago will tell us "What the Average American Believes."

One of the most important features of the convention from a practical viewpoint will be the report to be submitted by Arthur W. Falvey of Omaha, Nebr., assigned to this task at last year's convention, on the subject of organization. Mr. Falvey and his associates on this committee have given the subject a great deal of thought and there will be a keen interest in hearing their conclusions and recommendations.

John Lawrence Monroe, Field Secretary of the Henry George Foundation, has just returned from an extended tour of the West and will discuss "The New Frontier," and among other things will have a very interesting report to make concerning the present situation in California and the prospects for success in the campaign for Jackson H. Ralston's Single Tax amendment, which has attracted widespread support.

One of the most notable members of the Old Guard, John Z. White of Chicago, is scheduled for a message to the convention under the title "Retrospect and Prospect," and there is a probability of certain other prominent speakers being added to the list before the official programme goes to press.

The Chicago World's Fair, which proved such a great success last year, is now in the midst of a second successful season with many new attractions. The Exposition management has designated Thursday, Oct. 11, as Henry George Day and special exercises at the Illinois Host House will be held under the auspices of the Single Tax League of Illinois.

Chairman Ewing has appointed several sub-committees to take care of local arrangements. George M. Strachan, Vice Chairman of the Committee, is as usual taking a very active part in convention arrangements. Claude L. Watson will again serve as Chairman of the Registration

Committee. Newstad Epstein will be Chairman of the Committee on Pamphlet Literature. Miss Antoinette Kaufmann, Executive Secretary of the Robert Schalkenback Foundation, is expected to be present to have charge of the book exhibit of that organization.

Percy R. Williams, now serving as Chief Assessor of Pittsburgh, is continuing to function as Secretary of the Henry George Foundation and has been conducting all correspondence from Pittsburgh headquarters and formulating the programme in cooperation with the Convention Committee, and will, as heretofore, be active in the conduct of affairs at the convention in Chicago.

## The Henry George School

**F**RRIENDS and students of the Henry George School of Social Science are actively at work in preparation for its re-opening during the week of September 24, under the directorship of Mr. Norman C. B. Fowles, with Mr. George R. Geiger, son of Oscar H. Geiger, beloved founder of the School, as Associate Director.

Amongst those who will conduct classes as they are needed are Mr. Stephen Bell, Mr. Will Lissner, John Luxton, Otto K. Dorn and Mr. Charles Joseph Smith. The Correspondence Courses will be in charge of Mr. William W. Moore.

The School is most fortunate in having, thus far, 230 Free Scholarships to offer to unemployed teachers, college students, or ministers.

The members of the Student-Alumni Council have been requested to send in names of persons eligible for these scholarships.

Mr. Spencer Heath will officially represent the School in personally visiting the heads of the economics and allied departments of colleges in and near New York City, to present to them an opportunity of offering courses at our School to those whom they consider eligible. Some of the Welfare Agencies of the city have been notified of the availability of these free scholarships for social workers.

Announcements and regular registration blanks have been sent to 5,000 teachers at present employed in the the New York City service, and a special "Please Post" circular announcing the regular courses has gone to the head of every New York City Public School.

At the Chicago Convention in October Mr. Frank Chodorov will address the convention on behalf of the School.

May we not hope that more and more of the followers of Henry George will come to realize with one who lately sent a donation to the School that—"It seems the most hopeful work yet undertaken for our Cause." That, we know, is Mr. Chodorov's conviction.

A few days before his passing, Oscar Geiger said, "I believe our movement needs a spiritual home, and I believe that home should be the School."

This we would make it.

The Henry George Fellowship, lately established, will be the great family sharing that 'spiritual home'. Have we *your* name?

HELEN D. DENBIGH, President Student Alumni Council, Henry George School  
211 West 79th Street, New York City.

## Petroleum Royalties

HOW THE LAND LORDS WERE BAULKED OF THEIR PRE

**T**HE passing into law of what is now the Petroleum (Production) Act, 1934, may recall some of the events that prepared the way for the declaration with which it begins, that "The property in petroleum existing in its natural condition in strata in Great Britain is hereby vested in His Majesty, and His Majesty shall have the exclusive right of searching and boring for and getting such petroleum."

In 1917 the Coalition Government introduced the first Petroleum (Production) Bill, which treated such petroleum as the property of the local Land Lords, and provided for royalties on it being shared between them. Some of us who were then in the House of Commons challenged this proposal from the outset, and succeeded in defeating it in the Division of October 25 of that year on the preliminary Payment and Expenses Resolution, which led to the Government dropping the Bill. In the following year they brought in another, which became the Petroleum (Production) Act, 1918; it resembled its predecessor in some respects, but had nothing about petroleum royalties for Land Lords, and left the question of the ownership of ungotten petroleum to stand over.

In that Division of 1917 the tellers against the Government proposal were Mr. Denman and myself, and the present Prime Minister among those who voted against petroleum royalties for Land Lords. Not content with a negative attitude, some of us also placed on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons for "an early day" the following Resolution:—

"Petroleum.—That, in the opinion of this House, all Petroleum under the soil of the United Kingdom should be treated as belonging to the Crown; that the Crown should have the exclusive right of boring for and getting it and should have power to enter on and use any land for these purposes; that full compensation should be paid for any resulting loss or damage to property; but that no payment should be made in respect of the Petroleum."

It is satisfactory to see that our successful stand against the proposals of 1917—though it laid us open to the charge of outvoting Government during the War—has prevented the creation of a vested and detrimental interest, and that the principles set out in the Resolution—though we had no opportunities of debating it—are carried into effect. The difference between the 1917 proposals treating ungotten petroleum as the property of the Land Lords and the present plan of treating it as the property of the Crown indicates the advance of public opinion. It also suggests that similar principles may yet be applied to other things which Nature herself has provided and points in the direction of requiring those who hold the natural resources of the country to make appropriate payments for them to the Crown, and of relieving improvements and industry from taxation.

JAMES DUNDAS WHITE in London *Commonweal*

**T**O attempt to apply the Single Tax would be for many statesmen to risk political death. To gain economic liberty at the risk of political death does not appeal to them. The statesman who said "give me liberty or give me death" met death long ago and was not a practical politician anyway.

## Washington Will Not Understand

DR. CHARLES J. LAVERY, of Aberdeen, So. Dakota, wrote a letter to Secretary Wallace and received a reply from the assistant chief which showed that the letter had either not been read or that the Bureau of Agricultural Economics failed to understand it. To this communication Dr. Lavery replied with the following:

Your reply, dated March 1, 1934, to my letter of Feb. 6, 1934, addressed to Secretary Wallace, came to hand, has been read and studied carefully. Kindly permit me to comment thereon. Can it be possible that you read my letter?

"Taxation of land values, ALL land values, not 'taxation of farm land,' was the subject of my letter to Mr. Secretary. I also concluded that railroads should be relieved of ALL taxes, AND the additional expense of their tax departments, in exchange for a substantial reduction in transportation rates. Study of the subject has convinced me to believe that a disinterested survey would demonstrate that a reduction of fifty per cent might be affected if railroads were allowed to concentrate on railroading by being relieved of their duty to the State as tax collectors. Evidently you overlooked that part of my letter concerning the expense of tax departments in railroad overhead.

I said nothing in my letter about 'real estate.' That trick term is not belong in economics. You should know that, inasmuch as I hold a responsible position in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

As I see it, after a careful study of your letter: You appear to think that farm lands are the only land values that come within the view of your bureau. You ignore, entirely, city and town lots, timber and mineral lands, church lands, power sites and other land values. You stress the fact that farm taxes now are one and one-half per cent but you ignore the fact that farm tenants pay, when they can pay anything, four per cent to fourteen per cent rental to landlords. I do not appear to appreciate the fact that higher tax on land values, and, little or no tax on consumers goods and services would reduce the price of land, goods and services; nor do you seem to recognize the fact that everybody wants to buy, all they can, of all things.

The writer is a real 'Dirt Farmer,' owns and operates 550 acres of good farm land. He believes that farmers, both owners and tenants, and labor generally, would be helped more by shifting taxes from land and services, to land values than by any other form of legislation that has been, or can be devised. Congress alone can perform the much needed adjustment.

A nationwide survey of land values and the ownership thereof would be the most useful piece of research work that any department of government could now engage in for the public good. Land monopoly is the daddy of all monopolies.

Your letter of three pages, single-spaced typewriting is very interesting and illuminating indeed. It goes far in demonstrating the fact that farmers, laborers and consumers generally must depend on themselves and their own efforts, and not on their hired servants in government bureaus and departments, when they attempt to persuade their chosen representatives to remove the burden of taxes from their shoulders, take taxes out of prices, cease obstructing trade.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Senators and Congressmen in this and adjoining states, to Secretary Wallace and Frederic C. Howe of the Department of Agriculture, and to His Excellency, the President of the United States. Kindly supply them with copies of my letter to me of the 1st instant and oblige.

## How Imperial Caesars Come

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS OF JAMES H. DILLARD,  
DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA,  
MAY 29, 1909.

THE cause which seems to me to invite the allegiance of the coming men of America is no less a one than that of the preservation and extension of our democratic form of government. Without danger of being accused of pessimism, we may calmly state that no one can look twenty-five or fifty years ahead and feel positively assured of the permanence and progress of democracy. The fact is that democracy has no patent claim on perpetuity, and if it is to go on increasing the spread of freedom and justice among men, it depends upon the will of such young men as these here today.

I wish to mention an illustration—the typical one—of the recourse to Imperialism. I refer to the last century of the so-called Roman Republic, a period which has frequently been compared with our times. Many thinkers object to such comparisons from history and there can be of course no complete parallel; but there is yet a good deal of truth in the old saying that history repeats itself, and we can get from this illustration an example of two facts which are as true for one age as another. These two facts are, first, that an increasing inequality in the economic conditions of a people—in other words, that the concentration of wealth—is sure to result in political disturbance and disorder. The second fact is that the restoration of order, brought about with the best possible intention, may result in serious loss of liberty, and may undo for centuries the hopes of political progress upon which the welfare of nations and individuals depends.

When we read below the surface, there is no more interesting period in history than the hundred years from 146 to 46 B. C. In the year 146 Rome sacked Corinth and at last utterly destroyed Carthage. She was mistress of the Mediterranean and of all the world that seemed worth owning. By the year 46, the greatest and the best man of his age, the actual leader of the democratic party, working always for what he believed to be the welfare of the masses of the people, had practically destroyed the form of government under which the nation had risen to supreme power and apparent prosperity. The story of this period is one long tragedy. It is a lesson, a sermon written in gigantic characters, telling future generations how not to do things.

The reforms which Caesar carried through were beneficial to the people, and the condition of the masses throughout the Roman Empire was better in the two centuries following Caesar's death than it had been in the last century of the Republic. But what had happened? In order to effect reforms the people had surrendered what there was of a democratic form of government. The gain was at heavy cost.

There may be at least a danger, remote though it may be, of our approaching a condition somewhat similar to that which produced a master in Rome. If we should have a Czar, he would probably come, like Caesar, in the interest of the people, but all his notions of strong government would be weakening our ideas of democracy and the last end would be worse than the first.

THERE is some ground for hope that all fake remedies for the depression will have been tried before the end of the Roosevelt administration. Then it would seem that there will be no longer an alibi available for failure to apply the effective remedy proposed by Henry George. However, the President will still be able to dodge this course by deciding to try the fake measures over again. While this will prolong the depression it will give predatory interests a longer lease of life.

# An Immensely Important Book

A CHICAGO REAL ESTATE MAN DELVES DEEP INTO THE LAND QUESTION, AND MASSE EVIDENCE OF EXTRAORDINARY SIGNIFICANCE AT THIS TIME

REVIEWED BY

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY, PRESIDENT OF THE SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION

A NUMBER of years ago, Homer Hoyt, who, for a time, I believe, was a teacher of economics in the University of Chicago, engaged in the real estate business. Of a serious and studious bent of mind, he conceived the idea of making a scientific study of the rise and fall of land values and prices in the Chicago area over a considerable period of years. His main idea was, it seems, to provide an intelligible revelation of the factors governing price trends, because, as he says in his preface to the book before us:

"the knowledge of the past movement of land prices seemed to me to be indispensable for any rational real estate investment policy."

Elsewhere as here, the author indicates that he is thinking of land dealing as a commercial business in itself, rather than as a factor of importance in its effect upon the progress or welfare of human society as a whole. Nevertheless, the facts he brings to the surface seem to me to be of portentous significance at this time. The mysterious inevitability of what is called the business cycle by orthodox economists, is here plainly called into question—not by the author, but by his facts.

Mr. Hoyt, we are told, spent eight years in the study, which included a meticulous examination of public records from 1834 to date, as well as a study of books and newspaper files relating to the early history and the later growth of the community from a hamlet of a dozen log huts in 1830 to an urban agglomeration with a greater population in 211 square miles (according to the most recent census) than is contained in 825,000 square miles in eight American states.

Mr. Hoyt has written a remarkable and most significant book. This because it may easily be discerned by the reflective reader that the combination of human events and activities responsible for both the good and the evil incidence of land dealing in the area under consideration, can be related to definite principles of universal validity in any growing community. Indeed, it may not be too much to say that by reasonable deduction from the unquestionable historical facts here revealed, the thoughtful man seeking the true causes of the economic troubles of the United States at this time may find a convincing answer.

## I. THE GENESIS OF LAND BOOMS

The favorable geographical situation in Chicago at the junction of Lake Michigan and the Chicago River first attracted the earliest settlers. Limitless areas of government land were accessible at \$1.25 per acre. The first

land boom started when Federal engineers, after surveying, favored the construction of a canal for a distance of one hundred miles from Chicago to La Salle, the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, having suggested that such a waterway would be a vital transportation link in time of war. Also it was well known that one of the immediate results of the building of the Erie Canal in New York was a rapid rise in land values in all the towns along the route. Through the cooperation of the Federal Government with the State of Illinois the Chicago-Des Plaines river route was chosen for the canal, and alternate sections of land for five miles on each side of the route were granted to the State by Congress. The Illinois legislature authorized the Canal Commissioners to sell this land at \$1.25 per acre. Part of one of these sections of canal lands, three-eighths of a square mile, that straddled the forks of the Chicago River was surveyed and laid out in lots as the original town of Chicago.

Chicago's population in 1834 began to grow rapidly from a beginning of less than 500 persons, until 1836 when there were approximately 4,000 residents. Land speculation was active from the beginning. Auctions of vacant lands were constant, and nearly \$2,000,000 worth of land were sold before the end of 1836. The town was a trading center for a territory within a radius of 200 miles, a fitting point for westward-bound immigrants, and a legal center of an area of approximately 3,200 square miles. It was also the seat of the Government land office for the surrounding region. The records indicate that shortly before the tide of population increase set in, part of the Chicago region of 211 square miles was considered more valuable than any other government land that was offered for sale throughout the west for \$1 an acre. It may be noted, incidentally, that in 1833 the United States closed a deal with the Pottowatomie Indians for the purchase of 20 million acres of tribal lands near Chicago at the rate of six cents an acre.

As people flowed into Chicago, however, the demand for lots for actual use started an active speculative movement, until prices advanced from day to day. The people of the whole United States at that time seemed to be engaged in feverish land speculation. Many wealth seekers were coming to Chicago with visions of a great city at the mouth of the Illinois and Michigan Canals. The author cites many extraordinary instances of the wildness of the first Chicago real estate boom, such as the sale, in 1832, of the corner of South Water and Clark Streets for a plot eighty feet by one hundred eighty feet, for \$

its resale in 1834 for \$3,500, and its sale in the following year for \$15,000. The fame of Chicago real estate was so great that Chicago lots were sold even in New York City at public auction. The effect of this upon the local speculators was to stimulate fresh advances when the news reached Chicago. Buyers bought money from New York, from the South and elsewhere to invest in Chicago lots. The author adds:

"If outsiders were thus so anxious to buy, it is a matter of little surprise that the local residents who saw the rapid rise in land values which was daily taking place, invested all the money they could raise in land, which was making people wealthier in a year than in a lifetime of hard labor."

It is proper to point out that the speculative land mania at that time was not confined to Chicago or the West. A superabundance of paper money, issued under State laws, had flooded the country in volume exceeding the requirements of legitimate trade, and in the money centers of the East a furor of speculation in all commodities, but in real estate particularly, was at its height. The rise in land values in Chicago continued until the spring and summer of 1836 which marked the beginning of the construction of the canal. The author quotes a writer of the period as follows:

"The whole land seems staked out and peopled on paper. . . . Worthies would besiege the Land Office and purchase town sites at \$1.25 per acre which in a few days appeared on paper, laid out in the most approved rectangular fashion, emblazoned in glaring colors, and exhibiting the public spirit of the proprietor in the multitude of their public squares, church lots and school lot reservations."

By the summer of 1836 the sales value of land in the present city limits of Chicago had increased from \$168,800 in 1830 to \$10,500,000.

## II. THEN CAME THE MORNING AFTER

Then came the depression. Real estate became a drug in the market, mortgage money disappeared, foreclosures were numerous and a financial crisis became evident everywhere. The credit of the State of Illinois became seriously impaired because the State, stimulated by land speculators, had recklessly plunged into programmes of internal improvements that could not be paid for. Banks began to fail right and left, and people of supposed affluence were reduced to poverty. A familiar sight, which many of us have seen at the end of land booms in other places, was described by a newspaper reporter writing in 1839 as follows:

"In taking a stroll last week . . . we observed a considerable portion of the beautiful prairie which in the eventful days of speculation was staked out and sold as thousand dollar city lots, now plowed up for potato patches, and purposes of cultivation."

By 1841 the low ebb of State finances and of Chicago

land values had been reached. Illinois State bonds were selling at 18 cents on the dollar. The powerful State Bank of Illinois had suspended operations, and privation and suffering were evident everywhere. The author quotes Joseph N. Balestier, a writer of the period, as follows:

"Broken fortunes, blasted hopes and blighted character—these were the legitimate offspring of those pestilent times. The land resounded with groans of ruined men and the sobs of defrauded women who had entrusted their all to the greedy speculators."

So ended the first Chicago land boom.

## III. HOW THE NEXT PAROXYSM STARTED

Still Chicago grew. Deflated land values invited workers and capitalists. The city became a market for the farm produce of northern Illinois. Then began, in 1844, a slow increase in land values, more rapid as the canal was opened for traffic in April, 1848, and still more rapid when the railroads came in. Chicago without a single mile of railroad in January, 1848 was the railroad center of the West in 1854. The Illinois Central Railroad, by the way, secured a free land grant of 2,500,000 acres from Congress. The railroads poured floods of immigrants from foreign lands into the city, many of them to remain, and many to pass on to the farm lands beyond. Land values began to rise again, speculatively. The population of Chicago increased from 10,859 in 1847 to 20,023 in 1848 and then rapidly each year thereafter till in 1855 the population exceeded 80,000. The public improvements such as plank roads, side walks, sewers and street lighting contributed greatly to the rise of land values. Land near State and Roosevelt Road that was offered for \$200 an acre in 1845 sold for an average of \$20,000 an acre in 1856. The *Chicago Daily Press* in 1859 reported:

"The appreciation in Chicago real estate in the last five years has been enormous. The holders of any considerable parcels of property in a comparatively short period have found themselves rich. The territory within the present city limits had increased from an estimated total of 1,400,000 in 1842 to 126,000,000 in 1856."

Then came another panic. A financial stringency had developed in New York which was blamed by Eastern interests on the over-speculation in Western lands and too rapid railroad building. Three banks in Chicago closed their doors. Fifteen railroads with obligations of \$181,700,000 including the Illinois Central, with \$24,000,000 in debts, the Michigan Southern with \$18,000,000 and the Michigan Central with \$14,000,000 were forced to make assignments for the benefit of creditors. By 1858 many of the now familiar phenomena of business depression and unemployment were again in evidence. Building construction declined, land values fell sharply from their speculative altitudes, business failures increased,

and idle men sought jobs in vain. There was a great strain upon all Illinois banks and this was accentuated at the outbreak of the Civil War by the fact that bank note circulation had been secured in large part by deposits of bonds of the seceding Southern states. By 1864 ninety-eight banks had suspended in the State.

But the European need for American wheat and the Civil War demand for grain and meat sent Chicago wheat, corn and hog shipments upward, relieved unemployment and again stimulated the demand for land. The climb back of land values to previous peaks was somewhat slow until after 1862. Then a new land boom got under way.

#### IV. PANIC, CIVIL WAR, AND A BIG FIRE

The war—creating stimulation of industrial activities at Chicago, again greatly accelerated the growth of population,—laboring people coming from Europe, the Eastern seaports, and Canada.

During the war period, the population increased, rising from 109,263 in 1860 to 187,446 in 1865. Land values naturally rose again, and the post-war boom, 1865-71 was the biggest yet. By 1871 population had risen to 187,000 and new building construction for the period of seven years preceding had amounted to \$76,000,000. Public improvements kept pace with private construction in the extension of street utilities. The establishment of parks and boulevards in 1870-71 gave fresh impetus to land speculation. It would appear that Chicago people had heard of the land boom in New York, following the building of Central Park. Rich and poor alike got into the land game. Potter Palmer, made rich by speculation in cotton during the Civil War, bought three quarters of a mile of State Street frontage and added to his millions by transforming the street that had been a narrow lane between rows of shanties into a widened street where the big merchants, led by Marshall Field, established their shops. Land on this street that had been sold at \$300 a front foot in 1860, sold for more than \$2,000 a foot ten years later. Corresponding increases took place in all downtown streets. Just before the great fire in 1871, there was a furious speculation in land in the vicinity of the proposed or established parks. Improved transportation facilities also were stimulating an immense suburban movement that was turning farm lands into high priced lots. A writer early in 1871 declared that every other man and every fourth woman in Chicago had some money tied up in lots.

Then came the great fire of October 1871 that swept over 21,000 acres and destroyed 17,450 of the 60,000 buildings in the city, rendering 104,000 persons (one-third of the population), homeless, and effecting losses approaching \$200,000,000. This stayed the rise in land values only temporarily, during the uncertainty as to the future of the city. But in a year of hectic building operations, financed largely by money from the East, land values, generally speaking, recovered their former levels. An

ordinance prohibiting the erection of wooden buildings near the center of the city resulted in the great acceleration of the value of land for workingmen's homes and cottages in the outskirts of the city. The great activity of the construction industries had raised the wages of skilled mechanics so high that many of them invested in land for future homes or for speculation. This movement raged with greater fervor than ever in 1872 and the early part of 1873, when outlying acreage near the village of Hyde Park was reported to have increased from \$100 an acre to \$15,000 an acre. A company which acquired 6,000 acres of land on the Lake and Calumet River at a price of \$1.25 to \$100 an acre, appraised their holdings at the height of the boom at \$5,700,000.

The records indicate that the 211 square miles of land in the present city limits of Chicago had increased nearly 500 per cent in the ten years from the autumn of 1862 to the spring of 1873.

Then came the beginning of a new depression. Municipal extravagance and excessive outlays on new construction; lavish expenditures on street improvements designed by land promoters in sections where none were required, over-expanded sub-division activity, an immense number of sale transactions on small down payments—all these had proceeded from the extreme optimism of the times. The *Real Estate and Building Journal*, reviewing the collapse that set in late in 1873 referred to

"lavish (public) expenditures and downright thievery on a mammoth scale."

#### V. TERRIBLE DEPRESSION FOLLOWS

At any rate, a terrible depression set in, and deepened as time went on into possibly the worst calamity of the kind that had thus far been experienced in the checkered career of Chicago land gambling. A similar, though no so severe state of affairs was reported from other part of the country. Then came the startling announcement of the failure of Jay Cooke & Co. in New York, followed by a crash in the stock market. Bank suspensions and commercial failures occurred to an extent that caused a far reaching financial panic throughout the country.

A drastic reduction in the number of men employed in the building industries, and in the wages paid to those who were able to find work, were signs of these times. The high rents which had previously been capitalized into high land values had, no doubt, ruined hundreds of small business establishments. But now rents showed a widespread downward tendency, especially in view of radical reduction in construction costs. By 1877 rents were generally thirty per cent lower than the peak—circumstance, by the way, which we are finding duplicated in nearly every American city at this date.

The decline of values was accentuated then, as now, by the burden of taxes for improvements constructed far in advance of their needs. The *Real Estate Journal*, reviewing the debacle in December 1876, said:

"In the entire history of land dealing, there has not been a reverse which has lasted so long or caused such depreciation as that under which the market has labored for three years. Strewn with wrecks of fortunes and the destruction of hopes indeed it could by no means be certain that human minds and human lives have not been destroyed under the burden of disappointed expectations and the obloquy cast upon reputations previously fair and bright, through the inability of persons to meet their promises and carry out their contracts."

How well might this comment be applied to the situation created by the colossal losses suffered in recent years by the customers of title mortgage guarantee companies in the City of New York!

The bank failures in Chicago that followed in the wake of the panic of 1873 culminated in 1877 with the failure of the largest savings banks in the city—the Columbia and the Bee Hive—making a total of twenty-one bank failures in four years. Serious labor riots broke out all over the nation, and on July 5, 1877 a pitched battle was fought between the police and a great mob at Halsted Street Bridge, in which twenty persons were killed and seventy persons injured. Just at this time, \$50,000,000 of mortgages made by local property owners to finance rebuilding after the great fire, fell due, without any available monies for refunding these obligations in sight. Immense losses were taken in foreclosure and the bankruptcies which followed. At the end of 1877 the bottom of the real estate market was reached and the author recalls that:

"It ought to be mournfully admitted that a quick return to the level of land values prevailing in 1873 was not only not to be expected but that the values obtaining at that time were the result of a hallucination or a speculative disease. The net result was that the land values declined from 575 million in 1873 to less than 250 million in 1877."

And so ended the land boom that followed the great fire and the Civil War. It was some consolation to Chicago people that the decline in land values in the Central Park District in New York was reported to be even greater than the fall of land values in Chicago.

Incidentally, we are told that the collapse of the boom was followed by an era of low construction costs, cheap labor and low interest rates for money.

## VI. SKYSCRAPERS AND ANOTHER BOOM!

The extremely low level of prices after the panic of 1877 became the base of the active business recovery of the early eighties. In Chicago, as elsewhere, land values were deflated, house and store rents were low, and idle capital was offering attractive interest rates. Immigration from abroad flowed in steadily, reaching a new peak in 1882. This fact seemed to favor economic recovery everywhere, but particularly in Chicago as the chief gateway to the cheap lands of the far western country.

New factories were building, new railroad construction under way and seven new trunk line railroads entered Chicago. The city's population steadily increased, reaching 600,000 in 1884. Increased volume of trade and manufactures, produced new capital seeking investment. Thrifty working people who had avoided the savings banks, because of the wholesale failures of these institutions in 1877, were buying land for home sites and for speculation. Advances in house and store rents were everywhere noted. Suburban dwellings that had been vacant for a long time were rented or sold readily, thus greatly aiding insurance companies and other mortgage lenders who had acquired such properties through foreclosure. Business recovery and another real estate boom were clearly in the making.

An interesting incident of this period was the quiet purchase by under-cover agents of George Pullman of 2,500 acres of land near 111th Street and Lake Calumet at from \$75 to \$200 an acre. There Pullman built his great car works and the model town of Pullman, incidentally cleaning up in a few years about six million dollars in land value profits.

Mr. Hoyt's study indicates that ten years after the "crazy speculative peak of 1873," and the abysmal decline that followed, Chicago land values as a whole had risen greatly from the depression period, although still, except in spots affected by peculiar local circumstances, below the 1873 peak. Meantime there had been land booms in other population centers which reached a recession about 1887—notably in Kansas City, Omaha, Duluth and Minneapolis, but probably because of the influence of steadily increasing population and other developments to be referred to, Chicago's new tide of "prosperity" did not decline so soon.

The tendency of land rent to absorb the benefits of invention and discovery that tended to improve and cheapen industrial processes was shown pretty clearly when a revolution in the methods of office building construction was inaugurated by the erection by an insurance company in 1884, of a steel frame building at the corner of La Salle and Adams Streets. The architectural principle involved in the steel frame made the skyscraper a possibility. Formerly the rental capacity of a six-story building, however well situated, largely determined the value of the site. Skyscrapers increase land rent simply because they increase the potential floor space obtainable from a given land area. Land values in important business localities mounted as the height of buildings rose. A skyscraper craze was on that ultimately greatly overproduced office and apartment space and that became a factor in the inevitable collapse in the future. But tenants poured out of old buildings into the new which were well-distributed over the down town area.

In 1889 a territory of 120 square miles, including the township of Hyde Park, Lake, Lake View Jefferson, and a part of Cicero, were annexed to Chicago, bringing 200,-

000 new citizens within the city limits and making Chicago the second city of the United States with a population exceeding a million. Then Chicago, by vote of Congress, got the World's Fair in 1892 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discoveries of Columbus. Hectic activity on the part of realtors followed. Landowners and their political agents fought bitterly for months over the selection of the site of the Fair. There was feverish land sale activity in various proposed localities until the Jackson Park locality was settled upon. In that neighborhood land values rose to what the real estate editor of the Chicago *Tribune* described as "crack-brained altitudes." This actually occurred three years before the Fair opened its gates.

The Fair came and went. Depression was well under way elsewhere as in Chicago when the Fair closed its doors, but the land gambling it had engendered made the suffering there greater, perhaps, than elsewhere.

During the rising tide of land gambling at this period, a striking feature was the sub-division of vast and various tracts in the suburbs. Ninety per cent of the lots purchased were unbuilt upon, and tens of thousands of investors, no doubt, ultimately lost their property through forfeiture of contracts or foreclosure of mortgages. The speculation in acre tracts and suburban lots also seized upon central business property which steadily increased in price through the mark-up process until there was actual, if artificial, scarcity of sites needed by prospective land users. This continued until lesser demand weakened the market.

Then, gradually came into sight everywhere, but especially in Chicago, the depression of 1893. It was just twenty years after the debacle of 1873.

## VII. WHERE FREE SILVER FITTED IN

There was an obvious decline in Chicago land values in 1894, to be followed by what seemed to be, if briefly, a recovery in general business conditions in 1895. But most of the sales noted at that time were foreclosure sales, so familiar at the end of previous real estate booms.

The increase of unemployment in Chicago, as well as elsewhere throughout the country, brought forward various more or less plausible theories regarding the cause of the depression, even as one hears the same theories today. It is interesting to note now the then popularity of the idea that currency inflation was the way out of the depression. This might explain the capture of the Democratic Party of that day by the champions of the free coinage of silver who brought about the nomination of Mr. Bryan in 1896 at a time when the local depression had reached its lowest depths, apparently.

The painful and essentially destructive incidents recorded in previous depressions were again noted—business failures and bankruptcies, wrecked fortunes, idle workers and distressing poverty on a large scale. This depression lasted well into the new century. Features

of it were the radical decline of rents and increase of vacancies in office and apartment buildings, many of which were in the hands of receivers. For vacant land, in most localities there was practically no demand. Idle capital, nevertheless, accumulated in the banks and interest rates upon mortgage money in the central business district declined to four per cent or less.

Renewal of real estate activity after the turn of the century was coincident with the completion of new transportation systems that were extending into undeveloped sections. In 1902 rents began to rise, and vacancies to disappear in office structures. Skyscrapers again began to pay. Nevertheless, in 1909 Chicago land values, as a whole, were lower than in 1890, when the city was only one half as large. An interesting comment by Wm. B. Harmon known in New York, as elsewhere, as one of the greatest developers of suburban lands, is quoted:

"Land *values* as distinguished from land *prices* grow almost exactly as population increases, for they are determined by the economic returns in rents when improved, while real estate prices are not determined by intrinsic values, but largely by sentiment, so that prices and values do not, necessarily, mean the same thing. In 1889 everybody thought real estate prices would never stop going up, while now they are just as firmly convinced that they will never stop going down."

Nevertheless, apartment construction continued in large volume from 1910 to 1916 and there was a distinct increase in land values in various sections that led Herbert D. Simpson to observe, in an article written for the *Annals of American Academy*, that from 1910 to 1918 the average land values of Chicago had risen 50 per cent, without anything resembling a boom. The real boom was to come

## VIII. THE INCREDIBLE IS REALIZED

The facts as to the rise and fall of Chicago land values since the end of the World War, are still too recent to be forgotten. Our author in introducing his survey of the extraordinary period makes this comment:

"Those who have witnessed the fifth act of this century-long drama may almost doubt the evidences of their senses. It seems impossible that such changes could have occurred in so short a time, and if people had not seen with their own eyes what has actually occurred, they would not have believed it."

The United States had passed through a period similar in many respects to the "gilded age" that followed the Civil War, and that closed in the pitiful miseries of the panic of 1873.

But in many respects the boom that started in 1919 had unprecedented causal beginnings. The enormous expenditures of European governments and our own for war materials, and for the maintenance in the field of many millions of armed men had produced an apparent "prosperity" that reflected itself everywhere—gradual

at first, and then rapidly proceeding to unprecedented heights of increased land values and speculative prices.

The prices of American farm lands, which had doubled from 1900 to 1910 as a result of slowly rising agricultural prices, doubled again from 1910 to 1920. In Iowa for example the boom in corn lands raised the selling prices of acreage normally worth \$50 an acre to \$500 or more. Not long ago a ruined and saddened Iowa banker, referring to that hectic period said to this reviewer:

"All of us must have been a bit crazy with greed. The formula of the day was buy more land, to raise more corn, to fatten more hogs to get more money in Chicago to buy more land, to grow more corn to feed more hogs."

While farm land prices after 1920 declined, in keeping with the decline of wartime demands for the product of the farms, the prices of urban land everywhere, but especially in Chicago, rose to new and undreamed of heights. A primary reason for this, perhaps, was the return of five million soldiers and sailors from wartime employment to seek opportunities for work. Most of them sought the large urban centers. The government census shows that from 1920 to 1930 there was an increase of nearly nine million in the population of American cities of over 30,000 population. Apartment rents in most cities doubled from 1919 to 1924, and urban land values practically in the same ratio. Enormous sales of real estate bonds, based on this higher valuation, were made to a public who had been educated to buy bonds in the various wartime Liberty Bond campaigns. Ten billion dollars worth of real estate securities were sold by 1929, not to mention billions more of guaranteed mortgage certificates, based, to a great extent, upon inflated land values. Chicago was only little behind New York in this sort of financing. There was a remarkable migration of population from the farms to the cities, particularly in the West, causing enormous activity in the construction industries, beginning in 1919 and attaining a peak in 1926. One thousand bungalows were erected in Cook County on the cheaper land beyond the apartment areas. Business corners in the outlying regions doubled in price within five years, and store lands in similar centers increased one thousand per cent between 1915 and 1928. The author records, speaking still of the outlying sections:

"Competition among rival department store chain organizations for good locations as a means of selling their volume of sales and thereby enabling them to sell more of their securities, caused rents to advance above what their lessees could afford to pay. The bidding of rival banks, drug stores and cigar stores for corners was likewise keen, and in several instances transfer corners were leased by one organization for the purpose of keeping them out of the hands of a rival concern. Land development was intensive as well as extensive."

Of course, similar things were happening in New York and other population centers. The excesses of the land

boom did not stop with the city limits, but went far beyond. Acreage tracts increased six hundred per cent over night, and a belt of land three miles wide was subdivided along the North Shore for forty miles to Waukegan, and even to the Wisconsin State lines. Great selling organizations of developers realized over one hundred million dollars from the sale of vacant lots in one year. The sales value of the land in the city limits increased from two billion in 1921 to five billions in 1928.

The fever commenced to subside in 1927. Foreclosures were starting in 1928, and rents and prices were falling steadily in 1929 when the stock market crashed in New York, opening the eyes of the country to the fools' paradise in which people had been living. Land values began a precipitate and disastrous decline. In 1931 the evidences of collapse in the real estate market were numerous. Unemployment was steadily on the increase. Small banks were failing, wages and salaries were being reduced. Thirty banks found to be loaded with non-liquid real estate securities closed their doors in Chicago with incalculable injury to their depositors and those dependent upon them. Indeed banks were failing in many places.

By the end of 1932 foreclosure suits involved more than two billion dollars in Chicago, and in March, 1933 real estate there had reached what seemed to be its lowest ebb, with apartment rents declining fifty per cent or more, and vacancies in store and residence properties everywhere increasing.

The reduction in land values was greatest in the case of business property and in apartment house sites, and least in the case of cheap residential land. Thousands of small home owners through foreclosure, lost their properties, in which they had invested their life savings.

The author thinks, however, that 1933 was a turning point in the real estate depression. Things should improve, he believes.

In a concluding chapter Mr. Hoyt makes this observation about Chicago:

"Its growth was accomplished at great social cost. Its exuberant periods of building, subdividing and land speculation were followed by the inevitable aftermath of foreclosures, bankruptcies, bank failures and the losses and sufferings that affected not only the speculators but the entire community."

I gather from this that Mr. Hoyt is a believer in the cyclic theory, and the *inevitability* of disasters to the human family,—disasters worse than war,—that are inherent in our current treatment of the land question. He perceives no remedy and locates no cause for it all except the excesses of "individualism." His remedy for this, it appears, is "a planned economy"—a phrase of dubious if not dangerous significance, now much resorted to by Socialists, Communists and some protagonists of our Governmental New Deal.

#### IX. IS NOT THIS THE ANSWER?

The elaborate revelations in Mr. Hoyt's book seem

to me to give the strongest support to the inerrancy of Henry George's theory of the cause and recurrence of business depressions and unemployment. While George made it plain in Book V of his "Progress and Poverty" that he did not exclude other proximate causes in accounting for industrial depressions, he says:

"A consideration of the manner in which the speculative advance in land values cuts down the earnings of labor and capital and checks production, leads, I think, irresistably to the conclusion that this is the main cause of those periodical industrial depressions to which every civilized country and all civilized countries together seem increasingly liable."

It seems to me remarkable that despite the experience, the high intelligence and the extraordinary industry shown in the researches of this Chicago author, his book reveals so little awareness by him of the more serious economic implications of his work. The University publishers, too, seem to miss the real significance of the book. It is astonishing that they appear to see its chief usefulness as a business aid to realtors and land speculators. In their advertising circular they say:

"This book . . . will help you make money. One sale alone can pay for it twenty times over. Wouldn't it help you make sales if you knew when Chicago land values will reach their next peak? What types of real estate have the best prospect for a rise in value? In what areas of the city will the increase in land values be greatest in the next period of activity?"

The circular also contains a message about the book from Mr. Willard E. Atkins (described as the "well-known economist"), as follows:

"There ought to be a law which would make it required reading for all real estate operators, salesmen, and prospective homebuilders."

Not a word here or a thought, it seems, as to the real lesson that the reflective reader must deduce from the book. That lesson is that in a growing community particularly, the unrestricted private ownership of land is a social evil of fundamental importance to the people who seek the means and amenities of life in that locality. Land being the simple, indispensable factor upon which both capital and labor must depend for opportunity to employ themselves or be employed in the production of wealth, demand arises for access to the more desirable sites. Then appears the element of land value or economic rent, obviously a community product, because plainly derived from the needs, activities and development of community life. Then the natural disposition of speculative landholders to seek profit, by the monopoly of the more favored locations, promotes a temporary artificial scarcity along with increasing competition from prospective land users, for particular parcels of land or from those who would invest in locations in anticipation of increasing demand for use. Mr. Hoyt's study indicates that the investors, as distinguished from land users in the various

Chicago land booms and depressions were, for the most part, like the boom-time land investors in many other parts of the country—just gamblers seeking easy and unearned wealth at the expense of the producers of the community. When, in a land boom, succeeding waves of speculation force land prices to altitudes that practically deprive capital and labor of opportunity for further employment, the bubble bursts and the process of deflation sets in with its inevitable train of evil consequences, broken fortunes, blasted hopes, depleted incomes, vast unemployment, failed banks, wholesale foreclosures of mortgages, and the great abatement of purchasing power that makes for slack trade and hard times. After the deflation of values has proceeded to an extent that produces a new equilibrium in which land, labor and capital become plentiful and cheap, these forces of production are again engaged, and a season of activity again ensues.

That Henry George was right from the standpoint of logical speculative theory is accepted without question by all intelligent people who have been through so-called land booms in various sections of this country. Now his theory is amply supported by the indubitable facts revealed in the study of the incidence of land dealings in a great and progressive community, as minutely studied over a period of a century.

If Dr. Hoyt has not been fully aware of the ultimate significance of his revelations, it may also appear that the real importance of his work also has been missed by the University's teaching staff. This is indicated at any rate by the tone and substance of a foreword to the book contributed by Prof. Harry Alvin Millis, head of the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago and now, I believe, a member of President Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Board. After truly estimating Mr. Hoyt's work as a "distinct contribution both to the economic and social history of Chicago," Dr. Millis commends the work as tending to correct erroneous notions concerning city land values, such as:

"The Single Tax doctrine that the changes are all gains, large and unearned, might lead us to believe that urban land values rise steadily without any recessions or set-backs. This is not true."

To this reviewer, this seems to be a singularly inept and trivial comment by the leading economist of a large university upon the extraordinarily significant facts brought out in Mr. Hoyt's study. Incidentally, the professor ought to be told that there is no such "Single Tax doctrine" as that which he sets up to be knocked down by Mr. Hoyt's demonstration of what every Georgist knows—that land values that go up at certain periods of boom-time inflation have a habit of coming down later on. Nevertheless the portentous fact that emerges from the study, despite what the author refers to as "cyclical fluctuations," that bare ground values in the 211 square miles that constitute Chicago rose from a few thousand dollars at the

beginning in 1834 to more than five billion dollars at the present day and that some land within the area is rated in value at \$20,000,000 per acre. The fact and its implications are among the extremely serious things that Dr. Millis and his staff of economists might immediately do some thinking about. They might also examine Henry George's remedy for the evil social conditions that in this book are so clearly revealed and tell a distressed world what is the matter with it.

"One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago," (519p.) by Homer Hoyt; The University of Chicago Press.

## On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

SPEAKING APPOINTMENTS, JULY-AUGUST, 1934

(With the name of person by whom each appointment was secured, and the attendance).

Palo Alto, Calif.—Lions Club; 12; Robert D. Collyer; noon; July 3. Tax Relief Campaign Committee; 20; Jackson H. Ralston; noon; Sept. 3.

San Francisco, Calif.—Public Speaking Class; 8; A. J. Milligan; evening; July 17.

Seattle, Wash.—Religious Educational Workers Association; 40; C. Arlin Nave; noon; Aug. 1.

Victoria, B. C.—Rotary Club; 70; J. P. Watson; noon; Aug. 2.

Spokane, Wash.—Liberal Club; 30; William Mathews; noon; Aug. 18. Forum, Class in Political Economy; 30; William Mathews; afternoon; Aug. 19. Northwest Mining Association and Mining Division of Chamber of Commerce; 40; Joseph McCarthy; noon; Aug. 20.

Boise, Idaho.—Boise Business University; 30; Dow Dunning; morning; Aug. 24. Links School of Business; 30; Dow Dunning; noon; Aug. 24. Public Meeting; Idaho Single Tax League; 12; evening; Aug. 26.

Eagle, Idaho.—Linder Economics Class; 12; evening; Aug. 25.

To those who have followed these reports, one fact will stand out forcibly—Henry George people are on the job everywhere. Any one who was not accustomed to individuals exerting themselves except under the pressure of a directing organization would likely underestimate the strength of the Henry George movement in the United States and Canada. But in every State and province one may meet Single Taxers who never have met their fellow Single Taxers in other parts of the continent and yet who are talking the same language, preaching the same ideals, and fighting the same crusade for the truths that Henry George made clear.

Let us look into the Northwest:

### OREGON

In Southwestern Oregon is an active Single Tax Club under the leadership of Mr. Seeley of Coquille and Mr. M. L. Kathan of Ophir.

At Eugene is veteran Georgist Prof. W. R. B. Willcox in the department of architecture at the University of Oregon; Mrs. Jean Sutherland, daughter of Alexander

Hamilton of British Columbia; and Mr. James D. Bryant, to mention the most active ones.

In Portland the movement has been given great impetus by the enlistment of Mr. Ellis F. Lawrence and his son, Abbot, architects, who are converts of Prof. Willcox. Mr. and Mrs. James J. Sayer are as ever doing their part.

Oregon is one State where the people have to be consulted before the "painless" sales tax can be imposed. Although newspapers and radio stations have proclaimed the virtues of the sales tax in three initiative campaigns during the past two years, the voters have each time rejected it. This spring it was defeated by approximately 70,000 to 25,000—almost three to one. The only active opposition to the sales tax came from the Oregon State Federation of Labor. Secretary Ben T. Osborne and Kelley Loe led the fight for the Federation.

### WASHINGTON

"The frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the security of individual right and the perpetuity of free government." The Single Taxers of Washington regard this passage in the Constitution of their State (Article I. Section 32) as something more than a rhetorical flourish.

There are few cities that have such a large percentage of public leaders who know the Henry George philosophy as has Seattle and Spokane. Were it possible for these men to sit down across a table and submerge political differences, they could effect a programme that would make Washington a Henry George State in a very short time and so guarantee "the security of individual right and the perpetuity of free government."

County Commissioner Louis Nash of Seattle is an old guard Henry George man. In his weekly article in the Labor paper he frequently expounds the theories of land value taxation.

County Commissioner John C. Stevenson, of Seattle, candidate for the United States Senate to fill the place of retiring Senator C. C. Dill, is the most popular political radio speaker in the Northwest. He often quotes Henry George.

Commissioner Stevenson's leading opponent in the Senate race is Judge Charles H. Leavy of Spokane. Judge Leavy has the support of Senator Dill, also of Spokane. Both are members of the Henry George Lecture Association.

Senator Homer T. Bone, Democratic junior member from Washington, calls attention to Henry George and "Progress and Poverty" in speech after speech in his State. He quoted Henry George at a meeting in August for Postmaster General Farley.

Hon. Oliver T. Erickson, former president of the City Council of Seattle, is a devoted Henry George man of long years' standing.

Rt. Rev. S. Arthur Houston, Bishop of Olympia in the Episcopal Church, is an ardent believer in the philosophy

of Henry George. He is a convert of the late Bishop Williams of Detroit and is the son-in-law of a Detroit Single Taxer, Mr. Brotherton. Bishop Houston's son, Wilbur Brotherton Houston, attracted much public attention when he was chosen to be an understudy of Thomas A. Edison a few years ago.

Mr. Henry C. Pigott of Seattle, successful printer, is candidate for County Commissioner. His platform includes several planks based on the principles of Henry George.

It is the purpose of the newly formed Henry George Club of Seattle to bring together all those who will help make the movement stronger. Among its leaders are Mr. A. A. Booth, State Senator P. Frank Morrow and his son, John D. Morrow (both candidates for the State Senate this fall in neighboring districts), Mr. W. M. Fleming, Miss Josephine Nelson, Mr. George D. Lynn, Mr. Albert Freeland, Mr. Eugene Way, and Mr. C. Arlin Nave.

State Senator Morrow is publishing a bi-weekly campaign paper, *The American Arrow*, which is in effect a Single Tax journal. In fighting the sales tax, this paper has quoted dozens of merchants and influential citizens as opposed to the levy.

The formula of the usual campaign speech this season is: "I am for Roosevelt. I need a job. Vote for me." It is refreshing to the electorate of Seattle to hear youthful John D. Morrow use another formula: "I am for exempting labor products from taxation and taxing land values. I am opposed to the sales tax. I don't ask you to remember my name but I do ask you to remember the principles for which I stand."

William Mathews of Spokane has probably taught more classes in Political Economy a la Henry George than any other man. He has been conducting classes more or less constantly for over thirty years. One of his classes has held together even during the summer months, meeting every Sunday at 2:30 p. m. Mr. Mathews, in his lectures, develops the subject from the ground up. He sells many copies of "Progress and Poverty," being now on his second order of ten for the summer.

Mr. Mathews was the center of a militant Single Tax movement at the Normal College in Valparaiso, Ind., from 1895 to 1897. In a Henry George Club with him were, among others, the late Barney Haughey of Denver, Colo., and Mr. R. B. Wilson, now of Emmett, Idaho. It was while at this college that Mr. Mathews met the little lady who later became his wife. Mrs. Mathews didn't like Single Taxers in those days. She waited on the tables and the Single Tax students always took their time and talked after the meals—when Mrs. Mathews needed to clear the tables and get on to class! Single Taxers haven't changed much in thirty-six years, have they?

Henry George has many followers. There are few however, who have the creative ability to analyze current

problems independently and show the full relationship of the land and tax questions to them in a new light. One of these truly creative thinkers is Donald L. Thompson of Spokane. His articles exploding the fallacy of over-production and of the evils of the machine are among the finest. Mr. Thompson, a land appraiser by profession, is a candidate for the legislature this fall.

Among other active Henry George people in Spokane are Dr. J. M. Gunning, Mr. and Mrs. Norman W. Hart, Joseph McCarthy (with the new Home Loan Division of the Federal Government), Patrick J. McLean, and Dr. Robert A. Munroe. Both Dr. Gunning and Dr. Munroe have recently spoken on the Single Tax before outside groups.

The need for land value taxation is nowhere more clearly seen than in Washington where immense federal projects such as Coulee Dam are giving rise to the most inordinate land speculation. It is hard to believe that the federal officials are seriously concerned about the talked-of evils of land speculation when the remedy is so obvious and so close at hand. General George W. Goethals, builder of the Panama Canal, in his report on the development of the Columbia Basin Project recommended that it be paid for by collecting the increased land values due to it. His recommendation should be followed today.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

Has the Single Tax failed in British Columbia? To look at the record of legislation in the past sixteen years one would judge that it has.

In 1918 there were thirty municipalities exempting buildings from taxation. This was the high spot. In 1929 there were only twenty. This year the number has dropped to ten.

In 1891 the provincial parliament made it compulsory for municipalities to exempt buildings to fifty per cent of their value but they could exempt buildings more if they wished up to 100 per cent. In 1932 the parliament lowered the compulsory exemption of buildings to twenty-five per cent, in other words permitting municipalities to tax buildings up to seventy-five per cent of their value.

Until 1891 the provincial government levied a wild land tax of two cents an acre. In that year parliament changed this to a two per cent tax on the assessed value of wild land. In 1910 this was increased to four per cent, in 1917 to five per cent. The Tory government in 1932 decreased this to three per cent.

Are these legislative setbacks due to the people's dissatisfaction with the exemption of buildings and the higher taxation of land values? Hardly! In plebiscite after plebiscite the people of the various municipalities have shown that they did not wish improvements burdened. Before Port Alberni (2,000 population) imposed a tax on buildings in 1933, over three-fourths of

the property owners signed a petition asking the city council not to tax buildings. But the city council did! For the city councils and the provincial parliament are the bodies that have the power of taxation—not the people directly. A plebiscite has never gone against the Single Tax principle in British Columbia. And yet the trend of legislation is constantly against it. An excellent argument for the initiative and for that confidence in the people themselves that Jefferson so often expressed!

Has the Single Tax failed to raise the revenues because of a lack of land values? No! Even where buildings are exempt from taxation for municipal purposes, land sites in the business districts still have appreciable value. Probably less than one-half of the ground rent is actually being taken in taxation.

Is it that a legal restriction on the rate of taxation is such that the councils cannot tax land values high enough to raise revenue without taxing improvements? No! In no municipality, even where buildings are exempt, has the present 35 mill rate limitation for general purposes been anywhere near approached. Out of New Westminster's total tax rate of 56 mills in 1933 only 5.5 mills were levied for general purposes, leaving 29.5 mills which could be added to the general rate if desired. And New Westminster does not tax buildings at all.

Is it because of the low percentage of tax collections? No! The municipalities with full exemption of buildings are in no worse condition so far as tax collections are concerned than those that tax buildings. New Westminster, with the full exemption of buildings, has the highest percentage of tax collections in the province.

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Then why is the Single Tax so unpopular among certain public officials and civic leaders that inroads can be made on the progress already made?

The answer is that the Single Tax has failed because it has worked too well. Although in reality but small steps have been made toward the full Single Tax, the measure of land value taxation so far applied has brought a large part of the vacant land on the tax books—out of the hands of speculators and into the hands of the people. This has meant, for the land speculator, an "oversupply of land sites" which has tended to keep down speculative land prices, thus tending to destroy the "profits" in a most lucrative form of "investment."

About seven or eight years ago Mayor T. S. Annandale of New Westminster was determined to tax improvements and led a fight in that direction. He had land in a nearby suburb which he couldn't sell when cheaper land could be had in the city due to the taxation of land values!

A high public official of Vancouver (who did not wish to be quoted!) told of the depressing effect of all the tax-forfeited land on the real estate market. So long as the city had abundance of vacant land on its books which it was willing to let out to users at moderate charges

the "marketability" of private land holdings was destroyed! To remedy this evil situation on behalf of the land speculators (pardon me,—"investors"), this public official recommended that land sites on the tax books be held for sale at the full *assessed* value—not for just one or two years' back taxes. This would make it possible to prevent a "flood of the market" and enable landholders to realize on their investments. His recommendation was, of course, followed.

An official in Port Alberni told how the Canadian Pacific Railroad had threatened to let a large tract of unused land go for taxes if the taxes on it were not reduced. Failing to see that forcing land out of the hands of the CPR was a good thing in itself, the politicians sought to get a reduction in the taxes—and succeeded! Although it is clear that vacant land holders will expect to get back in unearned increment more than they pay in taxes, the tax eating political parasites are willing to sell the people's birthright for what is, to the people, but a mess of pottage.

Picturesque former Mayor John Alexander Kendall of Port Alberni made a single-handed fight to retain the full exemption of improvements in 1932. A veritable rock in the current, he proclaimed that he would "see Hell freeze over" before he would consent to the taxation of buildings. While he stemmed the tide for a year, in 1933 he was defeated for mayor and despite the plebiscite of the previous year against the taxation of buildings a levy was not made on them.

The truth is that the benefits from the application of the Single Tax principle in British Columbia have been all that a student of Henry George might expect, considering the incompleteness of the measures adopted. But the people have not been brought to realize the real importance of these benefits, let alone the importance of the principle from which they flow.

The hostility to the Single Tax on the part of Robert Baird, Inspector of Municipalities of the province since 1914, has had much to do with lack of sympathy shown by municipal officials. Mr. Baird's recommendations and reports during his twenty years' incumbency have been consistently opposed to the Single Tax. He has advocated some compulsory taxation of buildings and a wider base of taxation. Had this key position been held by a man who appreciated the social significance of the Single Tax principle, a different story might now be told in British Columbia.

But entirely aside from this individual factor, the educational work in the fundamental principles underlying the Single Tax programme has not kept pace with legislative progress. The people have instinctively felt the justice of exempting improvements but leaders who could and would crystalize public sentiment have been lacking. And leadership has been lacking because the basic educational work has not reached nearly enough people;

in a word, because Henry George has not been read and studied and discussed.

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Then, you may ask, is the Single Tax movement in British Columbia in a weaker position today than in 1889 when Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Turnbull first started *The Single Tax Advocate* in New Westminster? Than in 1891 when John Cunningham Brown (convert of *The Advocate*), Robert MacPherson, and Thomas Forster as members of the provincial parliament secured the fifty per cent exemption of buildings in all municipalities throughout the province?

Patrick Edward Dove in "The Theory of Human Progression" has told us that political truth "must grow; it must be suggested, misunderstood, denied, discussed, adopted in part, rejected in part, re-discussed, further adopted, and so on."

New Westminster is an example of a community that discussed the Single Tax principle, adopted it in part, rejected it in part, and further adopted it. From the time of its founding until 1889 it levied no tax on buildings. For twenty-three years then, until 1912, it taxed buildings. For another twenty-three years, through the current year, it has re-continued its previous policy of not penalizing building.

Mayor F. J. Hume, youthful and handsome native son of New Westminster, an electrical engineer by profession, believes that going back to the taxation of buildings would be a bad thing for the development of the community. Should the provincial parliament attempt to make the taxation of improvements compulsory, he states that such a move would be vigorously opposed by the people as a whole and by their public officials. In a recent article on New Westminster Mayor Hume pointed out:

The Single Tax has made it easy for the businessman and producer to establish themselves. I feel that the Single Tax has also had a tendency to reduce unemployment crises and the seasonal slump in this City as the manufacturer and merchant do not have to carry in their overhead expenses the dead weight of a large investment in high priced land, nor do they have to maintain taxes on their buildings, machinery, and equipment. Hence the factories and mercantile houses of New Westminster have been able to keep operating when in other cities a number would have had to partially or completely close down. Every encouragement is given to every bona fide prospective industry.

That the policy of encouraging home ownership, business, and commerce is a good one is attested to by the growth of the Port of New Westminster to the third largest in the Dominion of Canada in point of exports. No charge of any description is levied on cargo by the Port Authority. Furthermore, the harbor dues of only two cents per net registered ton as against three cents in Vancouver has operated to invite deep sea ships to avail themselves of the Port's facilities. The number of deep sea ships entering this Port have risen steadily from 13 in 1921 to 248 in 1929, 297 in 1930, 301 in 1931, 311 in 1932, and 409 in 1933 with prospects of around 500 in 1934

Vancouver had but approximately 1,000 deep sea ships in 1933.

Here are some of the comments of other officials and citizens of New Westminster on the operation of the local Single Tax:

A. J. Bowell, City Comptroller: "The sentiment of the people is decidedly against taxing improvements."

J. E. Paulding, home owner: "I first learned my Henry George at Nottingham, England, where I was technical instructor of the blind. I thought his programme very reasonable. Certainly Henry George's prophecy has come true. Progress has brought benefits but to the few—speculators who were out for money. Others have had to pinch and starve for what a few get. In another way Henry George's prophecy has come true. In New Westminster, where his principle is applied, there are more home owners than in any place I've lived before, more than in London where no one owns his own home. Home owners here are strong for the Single Tax. There are lower taxes on homes here than in other cities where buildings are taxed. Land prices are lower too."

S. I. Hearst, home owner: "I don't approve of the improvement tax at all."

A fireman, home owner: "It's a good thing for me. Without the tax on buildings a man builds a better house—say a \$3,000 house instead of a \$2,000 one."

F. E. Howey, merchant: "I have no use for any one who speculates in land."

Harry Stewardson, Building Inspector: "I'm sure the Single Tax is a good thing. Nearly all people in this town own their own homes. Having no tax on buildings is quite an inducement. Permanently situated people will get their own homes as rapidly as they can. I think it is a mistake to think of taxing buildings. Before the exemption of improvements, houses looked like last year's birds nests. People wouldn't paint their houses for fear the tax assessor would raise their taxes. As soon as improvements were exempted you never saw such a difference!"

T. H. Grant, assistant manager, David Spencer department store: "If you tax improvements people won't build so much. This means less jobs. David Spencer has been doing a steady business for the past five years. New Westminster has steady pay rolls. Pay rolls buy groceries."

Mr. Stride, photographer: "Of course a man shouldn't be penalized for beautifying his place. If you tax buildings you make the enterprising home builder pay the taxes for the man who only builds a shack."

Walter Dodd, Board of Education: "I don't think New Westminster will accept compulsory taxation of improvements without a howl."

The movement in British Columbia is stronger today because of the truths that New Westminster and other communities in the province demonstrate to whomsoever will look.

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No! The Single Tax lines that have been drawn across the page of history in British Columbia can never be entirely erased. They are an indelible impression that will always remain to guide lovers of humanity and freedom. The movement in British Columbia is fortunate today in having in its active ranks three of the original leaders who in the late eighties and early nineties made possible the advances that have been so far achieved. Let the names of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Turnbull, and Thomas Forster be honored for the victories they have won and for the victories that will yet be possible, for what they are doing today in the ripened experience of their three score and ten!

### IDAHO

Oscar Geiger was one of the first to act upon the realization that we must begin our educational work from the ground up. He realized that to seek the adoption of the Single Tax without the people being grounded in its fundamentals is like trying to put on the roof of a house before its foundation is laid.

Mr. R. B. Wilson of Emmett, Idaho, realized this too. Both Mr. Geiger and Mr. Wilson came to see that the only way to teach Henry George is to *teach*. It was not enough to give one talk or hand out a pamphlet or even to get a person to read a book. Only through the class room method could the full scope of the philosophy and programme of Henry George be brought to the minds of those interested.

After graduating from Normal School back in Valparaiso in the nineties (where he and "Billy" Mathews and Barney Haughey raised old Ned with their Single Tax), Mr. Wilson became a country school teacher. He's an orchard grower now, but the old teaching habit never left him. He has now conducted three classes in Political Economy, the first in Boise in November, 1932, average attendance 15; the second in Linder (near Boise) in March, 1933, average attendance 35; and the third in Emmett in the fall of 1933, average attendance 6.

Prof. Wilson, S. T., gave ten lectures in the first class. It was held in the Labor Temple, free to Labor men with a charge of fifty cents a lecture to outsiders. This charge paid an average of \$2.00 a night toward Mr. Wilson's expenses.

The second class was given nine lectures. Forty-two enrolled at first—all farmers from the surrounding country. Two dropped out because of their opposition to the teacher's point of view. The remaining forty attended as regularly as possible, the average attendance being 35. A charge of fifty cents was made each attendant for the course. Practically the whole of the \$20 was collected the first night. One farmer, who could not pay in cash however, paid in two bushels of shelled corn—about a dollar's worth. There were eight or ten women in the class. Six students were of high school age. It consisted

of men and women of all beliefs, creeds, and political affiliations from hide-bound Republicans to Coin Harvey fans. About half owned their own farms but only one of the students had a farm that was not mortgaged. About fifteen came through as Croasdale converts. At least fifteen more were favorable to the Single Tax. There were five or six who couldn't see the light. No reading matter is assigned in the courses given, though a good number get "Progress and Poverty" and read it.

The third class ran up against an epidemic of the flu and had to close at the end of four lessons. One of those who attended, however, came through as a convert and read "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Wilson enriches his lectures with anecdotes that would be a credit to Mark Twain and which serve to illustrate his points.

Mr. Wilson, who received the Democratic nomination for State Senator from his district, has a two to one chance of winning. . . . Hon. Dow Dunning, dean of the Single Tax movement in Idaho, and President of the Idaho Single Tax League, lost in his campaign for the legislature. He campaigned for the Single Tax and against the NRA, the AAA, etc. . . . Dr. Stratton of Salmon City, Idaho, was candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1932, losing to Senator James P. Pope. Both are Henry George men but Dr. Stratton made an open Single Tax-Free Trade campaign. . . . Don Reed, former State Senator and convert of Dow Dunning and Dr. Stratton, are in control of the Democratic Party in Lemhi County.

Other active Single Taxers in Boise include Allen B. Eaton, attorney with the NRA; Frank E. Johnesse (Mrs. Johnesse is Secretary of the State Democratic Committee); Lawrence O. Nichols, president of the Idaho State Federation of Labor; and John R. Smead, attorney. At Eagle, Idaho, are the families of John P. Kuster and William Globe. The death of Gus M. Paulson at Wilder, Idaho, former Chicago Single Tax Club member, is a great loss.

Mr. Dunning, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Monroe had an interview with Senator William E. Borah on Monday afternoon, Aug. 27. The Senator promised to find an opportunity for calling public attention to the fact that Henry George offered a logical solution to the problems of depression and the maldistribution of wealth. He said that he believed the Henry George programme would go a long way toward solving our problems, but that he did not believe it would leave nothing further to be done. He denounced the sales tax as "abominable" but did not believe Judge Ralston's proposed amendment to repeal the sales tax in California would be adopted. While the Senator says he can see the picture of a new civilization that Henry George portrayed he does not see how it can be brought about. He believes that revolution is inevitable in this country and that though it may not come in his life time there is no way to avert it.

So there!

## Natural Law in the Economic World

ADDRESS OF OSCAR H. GEIGER AT THE HENRY  
GEORGE CONGRESS, N. Y. CITY, SEPT. 13, 1927

**N**ATURAL LAW is the uniform occurrence of Natural phenomena in the same way under the same conditions.

The Law of Attraction of Gravitation is a Natural Law. We know that, because it acts the same at all times under the same conditions.

We know now why apples fall to the ground, but apples fell to the ground for a million years and one of them had to hit Sir Isaac Newton on the head for us to find out why they fall.

The Law of Attraction of Gravitation does not merely control the falling of apples to the ground. It applies to all matter, and as stated in textbooks, reads: Every body attracts every other body with a force that varies directly as the product of the masses of the two bodies, and inversely as the square of the distance between them.

That sounds formidable, and it is. All Natural Laws are formidable; perhaps that is why they are so little understood.

Not to understand Natural Law, however, is not to understand Nature, for only through Natural Law can Nature be understood. This is generally recognized in Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry and Biology, but it is very little, if at all, known in the Social Sciences, and this is rather unfortunate for the Social Sciences, as Natural Law operates equally in this field as it does in all fields of being and living. Whether it is apples falling to the ground or mankind living on the ground. Natural Law operates to govern both phenomena.

As men gather and settle on some spot on earth in response to their gregarious instinct to live together and to produce the things they need, two values appear, each separate and distinct, one attaching itself to the things that men produce, and one to the land on which they live and work.

The value that attaches itself to the things that men produce is an objective value; it is strictly a labor, or man value, and is a value that man can control. It is high or low in the measure that the product is scarce or plentiful in relation to the demand for it. If high, greater production is encouraged; if low, production can be curtailed. This value is governed by the Natural Law of Supply and Demand.

The value that attaches itself to the land on which men live and produce is not in the control of the individual; it is entirely subjective. The individual in his production of wealth has no thought of this value, and could not control it if he had. It is a value that arises out of the fact of his mere being and producing in company with other individuals.

No individual effort can raise or lower this value. It depends solely and entirely on the presence and activity of the community, and embodies both the expression of man's need for land and the service that society renders to the individual. This value rises and falls only with the movement and productivity of population. It is high in thickly settled and industrious communities, and low where population is sparse and production poor. This value is a social or community value; it is governed by the Law of Rent.

These two values, Product Value and Land Value, appear everywhere that men live and produce wealth; they rise or fall everywhere the same under the same conditions; they are Natural phenomena; and they in every way meet the requirements of Natural Law—the Law of Supply and Demand in the case of Product Value, and the Law of Rent in the case of Land Value. Are these Laws then not Natural Laws? If they are not, then neither is the Law of Attraction of Gravitation a Natural Law. If they are Natural Laws, they cannot be disregarded without meeting the consequences.

If we assume that men are freemen and have an equal right to life and liberty, then, out of the fact that Product Value is Labor Value or Man Value, it follows that men have the right to keep and enjoy the results of their individual toil or effort, and to freely exchange or sell or bequeath their product, and that they cannot, except by the violation of Natural Law, be deprived of it.

Society is an entity, as is evidenced by the fact that a value arises out of its existence, and also by the fact that it has needs and wants, and must raise money to defray expenditures, and by the further fact that it creates a fund which fully equals all its legitimate requirements. Who but a professor of economics would fail to recognize in this the working of a Natural Law? It is a violation of Natural Law to deprive the individual of his product—Wealth. It is equally a violation of Natural Law to deprive society of its product—Rent. The violation of Natural Law does not remain unpunished.

Whether the Darwinian Theory or the Biblical Story of Creation is correct, man must live by the sweat of his brow; he must render service, he must till the soil, reap the fruits, dig in the mines, and build on the earth. It is on the Earth that he has his being, and out of the Earth that he gets his living. Again assuming that men are freemen with equal rights to life, it follows that they have equal rights of access to the Earth.

Of all the Laws in the field of Social Science, the most fundamental and far reaching (and perhaps, therefore, the least understood in the science of Political Economy) is the Law of Equality; the Law that, being of like kind, like origin, like needs, and like means to supply those needs, men *are* equal and *have equal rights* to supply those needs out of the only source from which those needs can be supplied, the Earth. And the most flagrant and vicious violation of Natural Law is the private appropriation

tion of land, which denies man free access to the Earth and enables its proprietors or appropriators, to dictate the terms under which the landless may remain and produce on the Earth which the Lord, their God, gaveth them!

The appropriation of the land by the few diverts into the pockets of the owners of land the Rent which is the product of the community, and which is intended by Nature to defray communal expenses; and this appropriation of Community Value by individuals results in the appropriation of Individual Values by the community by way of Tariffs, Assessments, Tolls and Taxes, and thus begins the vicious circle of the Violation of Natural Law, which has brought *all misery to mankind*.

If there is any one principle more important than any other principle in the economic affairs of men, it is that the Earth is the birthright of all mankind, and that all have an equal right to its use; and if there is any one violation of Natural Law that is more devastating in its consequences than the violation of any other Natural Law, it is the private ownership of land.

And what are the consequences? Poverty is universal and persistent, crime and vice are on the increase, wars are more deadly than ever, nations crumble and fall and civilizations die. Almost all ancient civilizations have died. Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome are no more. Greece, where philosophy was born, where man is said to have reached his highest culture, is gone, and so is Rome where imperial power reached its greatest consummation.

The life of civilization is about one thousand years. No civilization has lived more than eleven hundred years, and if our wise men of today are correct, this civilization, perhaps the youngest of them all, has not much longer to live.

Civilization is but a social composite of mankind at any given period and place, and is endowed only with such potentialities as are imparted to it by the minds and deeds and conditions of men.

As history dawns we find mankind divided into two great classes, those who have and who rule, on the one hand, and those who serve and who have not, on the other hand. We find the land already appropriated, and those who own it the supporters of the Kings and the Clergy, while the mass of mankind is landless and living in comparative slavery and serfdom.

We have since then changed our terminology: for Kings and Emperors we have Presidents and Constitutional Monarchs; Despotism we call Democracy; and Slaves and Serfs are our Labor, or Laboring Classes; also to the Clergy we have added the Press and the Universities to administer the opiates of sacred institutionalism to the people. But those who build our modern industrial Pyramids and Palaces still live in hovels, and those who produce all the world's wealth still have the least of this world's goods. And this condition is daily becoming intensified, for wealth inevitably tends to beget more

wealth, and power to increase power, while poverty tends only to ignorance, vice, crime, disease and misery.

What an astounding phenomenon, that producers of wealth are everywhere poor, and continually becoming poorer, while non-producers are continually becoming richer!

The social structure, at whatever time or place, rests on its producing class, as a pyramid rests on its base. Given a base that is weak and continually becoming weaker, it does not require higher mathematics to envisage the downfall of that pyramid. History records no time when the producers, the mass of mankind, were left unmolested in the possession of their products, and history may be read as a chronicle of war and crime and devastation.

Henry George saw poverty and misery amidst increasing wealth and progress, and it would not let him rest. He knew that this is a dynamic, not a static world; that it is a world of law; that events are not left to mere chance and accident, but that everything in the universe, whether the infinitely large, as viewed through the telescope, or the infinitely small, as viewed through the microscope, is governed by law—intelligent, purposeful law; and being a man of infinite faith, he knew that poverty and its concomitants must be the result of the *violation* of Natural Law.

He found that just as the motions of the heavenly spheres, and the appearance and reproduction of vegetation and life on earth, are controlled by Natural Law, just so are the acts of men, whether as individuals or as society, controlled by Natural Law; and he further found that non-conformance to Natural Law in the field of Social Science, just as disregard of Natural Law in the field of the Physical Sciences, leads eventually to death and destruction.

We in this civilization no longer ascribe bodily ailments to the visitations of evil spirits, and no longer attempt to effect cures by the casting out of devils. We may not be much further advanced in our systems of healing, but it is generally admitted among good medical authorities that permanent cure depends on knowing the cause of the ailment, and that the cause is nearly always found to be the disregard or violation of Natural Law.

Just as individual ailments are the symptoms of the violation of those Natural Laws that govern the life and well-being of the individual, just so are poverty, ignorance, crime, vice, disease, business depressions, hard times, war, the breaking down of nations and the death of civilizations merely the symptoms of social disease, warning us of the violation of those Natural Laws that govern the life and well-being of society.

Henry George was not the first to see that there was a relationship between the poverty of mankind and the private ownership of land by the few. It was seen in Biblical times, it was recognized by the early Christian

Fathers, and it was sensed by the Physiocrats in France and by the Economists in England. But it remained for Henry George to show that the private ownership of land, which denied men access to the earth upon which they must live and from which they must satisfy all their needs and wants, is the primal cause, not merely of poverty and all the misery and wrong that follow in the wake of poverty, but that it is the *basic cause* of evil and injustice among civilized men; and that only by the elimination of the private ownership of land can liberty and justice be achieved and evil forever be abolished. It remained for Henry George to show that, potentially, this is a good world; that men are innately good, not innately bad; that Creation is based on justice, not on vengeance; that the earth is a banquet table, spread by the hand of a benign Creator and laden with an abundance of all things for which men have need, and at which every human being has a place.

Freedom, Equality and Security are man's estate in the intent and scheme of Nature. Freedom of access to land, equality of rights of opportunity, and security in the possession of his entire product are man's birthright, and these he will some day attain, even if through his ignorance men first must suffer, nations perish, and civilizations die for it.

But why wait? Why permit the misery and suffering of mankind to go on? If misery and suffering are due to the violation of Natural Law, why continue the violation?

"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Render unto the individual the things that are the individual's, and to society the things that are society's.

Give back to society the one thing that is made by society, and which therefore belongs to society, and leave the individual in possession of the things that he creates, and which therefore are his.

Take the rent of land for communal purposes, and stop the robbery of the community by the landowner. Abolish all tariffs, tolls and taxes, and stop the robbery of the individual by the government.

Observe the Law—the Natural Law—which is the Word of God, and let each take his place at the banquet table God has provided for all.

ADDRESSING the American Society of Editors on April 21 Prof. Tugwell resorted to a discreditable trick. He represented return to conditions of 1929 as the only alternative to the New Deal. If he knew no better his remark would discredit President Roosevelt who has promised to try something else should the New Deal fail, and the President did not mean conditions of 1929. But he knows better. This is obvious from the fact that he is the author of the biography of Henry George in the Encyclopedia of Social Science wherein he gives a brief account of George's views. It requires trickery however to get by with a defense of the New Deal.

## The Greatest Single Tax Speech I Ever Heard

IN 1918 a wealthy man decided to form a "third party." So he organized a Committee of Forty-Eight, and with considerable largesse assembled in Chicago a variegated group of radicals from all parts of the country. The object was to find a common denominator for the assorted "isms" represented by these malcontents, such common denominator to be codified in a platform, and to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency on this platform. That was the year of the Harding-Cox campaign.

Because it was political, this movement gained considerable publicity. The late James A. Robinson, national organizer of the Single Tax Party, conceived, with his usual audacity, the idea of absconding with this publicity. He proposed that the Single Tax Party hold its national convention in Chicago at the same time. The purpose was not only to gain publicity for the Single Tax movement by giving the newspapers two conventions to cover at once, but also, if possible, to attract many of the Forty-Eighters, known to be favorable to the Single Tax, to our movement. For we feared that our convention could attract very little attention by itself. We had our platform fight, and nobody was particularly anxious to whom the nominations went. We were out to make noise for the Single Tax, and to make the noise audible we knew we had to augment our numbers. This we proposed to do at the expense of the Committee of Forty-Eight.

We left New York in a private car, well bespattered with banners. At Philadelphia we took on the Pennsylvania contingent. My recollection is that we had less than fifty altogether. But a group of evangelists with lusty lungs can make an amount of noise out of all proportion to their numbers—and we did. We had sent ahead Jerome Reis, another valiant party worker who has since departed, ostensibly to take care of arrangements for our convention, but in reality to stir up the interest of the newspaper men in our coming. Somehow Reis succeeded not only in impressing these men with our importance, but also in conveying the idea that we might condescend to take over the Committee of Forty-Eight. This was indeed a fight, and what interests a newspaper man more?

"The Single Taxers are Coming" was the headline of one Chicago newspaper. Interviews with prominent Forty-Eighters as to the possibility of a merger or the probability of a fight disturbed the equanimity of that organization, and gave us plenty of publicity. The A. P. wires must have been busy with stories about us, for newspaper reporters besieged our car en route. I think it was in Erie, Pa., that we read a big front page story about ourselves that really scared some of us; we were

afraid of the ridicule that the smallness of our group would meet with when we reached Chicago. Judging from the Chicago newspapers it seemed as if the Forty-Eighters were really frightened by our coming. Whether it was the prospect of the impending fight that entranced them, or whether they were sympathetic to our movement, the newspaper men were quite good to us after we arrived, and the Single Tax received considerable notice in the newspaper columns. Evidently to the discomfiture of the Forty-Eighters.

Well, we organized our convention and immediately adjourned to the other convention. What an imposing spectacle this gathering seemed in comparison with our handful. There were over four hundred of them, divided into state contingents with banners, the leaders majestically seated on the platform and flanked with stenographers and reporters. This was a real convention. They had style, real get-up, and might have amounted to something if they had had a reason for existence, a definite political platform.

We made a very definite impression as we walked into that hall. Those on the platform looked us over. It was not only that we wore Single Tax buttons and carried Single Tax pennants, but I think the Forty-Eighters realized that we were the only group of that size in the hall that had a definite platform, we knew what we wanted, and a well-organized and determined minority can always swing a heterogeneous crowd.

Our plan was to forget our own convention until we did what we could toward swinging this crowd, or a large part of it, our way. We entered into the mechanics of the thing by taking our places with our respective state groups. Our aim was to get as many places on the platform committee as possible, so that, if we accomplished nothing else we would write a straight Single Tax plank in their platform. After all, our main aim was not political; we wanted publicity for Single Tax. My recollection is that we had four members of that committee, and that there were a number of non-party Single Taxers to help these four. At any rate there were enough Single Taxers on this committee to assure our plank of a place in the platform.

But the platform committee could not agree on anything. It was humanly impossible to find the common denominator for all these malcontents. There were greenbackers, and silverites and gold manipulators—every known, and some novel, form of inflation was proposed, and always with a long speech. Then there were government ownership plans of various degrees, and some out-and-out Marxists. For two days the committee wrangled, but not even the preamble to the platform was born.

There was a third political convention being held in the city—the Labor Party. With its shrewd labor union politicians the Forty-Eighters had been flirting for two days. During the night of the second day some agree-

ment—which later on proved to be a few vague laborite promises which were never kept—had been entered into between the leaders of the two movements. On the morning of the third day, while we were waiting for the platform committee to report, somebody on the rostrum moved that at one o'clock this convention should move over to Carmen's Hall where a joint convention with the laborites would be held. The motion carried. Then someone moved that a platform be adopted on the floor, so that some definite programme of their own should be presented at the joint convention. When this motion passed and delegates asked for the floor to present their pet panaceas, Jim Robinson, who acted by tacit consent as our floor leader, told me to notify our members of the platform committee to get up to the floor at once. My announcement that a platform was being written in the convention hall broke up the committee meeting.

When we got upstairs the convention was in a pandemonium. Everybody seemed to be calling for the floor. The chairman, Paul Christiansen, who later became the Farmer-Labor Party's candidate for president (and that was all the Forty-Eighters got for their expense) was trying to save the convention from disintegration, and therefore trying not to offend anyone. Under such circumstances the loudest and most insistent voice usually gets the floor. So Herman Loew, who led our forces in the committee (and who, by the way, is ordinarily one of the most dignified and soft-spoken of men) kept pressing down the center aisle through the mob, with the loudest "Mister Chairman" I have ever heard. We helped him out not only with our shouting, but also with the waving of our pennants; we seemed to be a solid phalanx that could not be overlooked with impunity. Loew got the floor and read his Single Tax plank. It seemed that everybody on the floor seconded the motion for adoption. A common denominator for this rabble had been found.

Apparently the leadership did not want a common denominator. If this convention were committed to anything so definite as a straight demand for the collection of the full annual rental value of land in lieu of all taxes—and this was the only thing that seemed to unite them—the leaders might not be in a trading position with the laborites. Christiansen turned to his advisors on the platform, and then he recognized one of them to be the first speaker for the motion. This speaker (who has since turned out to be a good Single Taxer, and therefore I shall omit his name) began by declaring himself to be a true follower of Henry George, "but this is not the time, etc."

At that point Jim Robinson shouted "point of order." Several others of our crowd picked up the cue, and though none of us knew what parliamentary point Robinson had in mind, we all shouted "point of order" because we did not want that particular speaker to talk for our plank. Christiansen tried hard to maintain order and let his

hand-picked orator continue. No use. Finally he turned to me and asked me what my point of order was. I am about twice as big, physically, as Jim Robinson was, and therefore the chairman saw me first. I was about to say something, I don't know and never knew what, when Robinson shouted: "Mr. Chairman, my point of order is that no man who is against a motion be allowed to speak for it." Robinson told me later that up to the time Christiansen recognized me he had no idea what his point of order would be; that's how resourceful he was. Christiansen, still anxious to save the convention, did not trouble himself about the accuracy of the parliamentary question, yelled back: "Whom do you want to speak?" Now, there were fifty good Single Taxers at that convention, almost everyone qualified to speak on the motion. There was Loew and Miller and Macaulay and Robinson—a host of orators. But everyone of us, as if by prearrangement, turned to the tall figure near the center aisle and called for:

"Oscar Geiger."

I don't think he spoke for more than twenty minutes. But of the thousands of Single Tax speeches I have ever heard I never heard anything like that one. Maybe Henry George, maybe Father McGlynn delivered better orations; I never heard them. But there stood that tall, slender, Christ-like figure on the platform, pouring out his very soul in a plea for economic freedom and human justice until a halo seemed to form itself above him. The audience that but a few minutes before was one of the maddest and noisiest, now was as quiet as a church meeting. They hung on every word. Not a whisper. After three days of pandemonium and wrangling they had found an oracle who spoke to their hearts and quieted their souls. The message he brought them was the one they wanted to hear—the one common denominator that brought them together.

What did he say? What you or I or any good Single Taxer might say. His speech was entirely impromptu. Some time later I asked him if he remembered his speech. He did not. But how he said it! It was like some thrilling scene, some piece of inspiring music, the details or notes of which you do not remember, but which leave an indelible impression on your mind. The setting was perfect, the crowd large and really anxious to do something for humanity, the occasion momentous, and Oscar Geiger poured forth his heart in an impassioned plea such as only he could do.

The electrified crowd paused for a second, as if stunned, when he completed his address. Then from all parts of the hall: "I move the question"—"question"—"question." No opponent to the motion could have gotten a hearing. So Christiansen moved the question and it was carried unanimously. I think it was the one and only plank in their proposed platform that was ever adopted.

It was now past the time for adjournment to Carmen's Hall, as agreed upon by the earlier resolution, and the

Forty-Eighters went over there to be swallowed by the laborite whale, and were never heard of after. We left them to their fate and went on with our own convention. Had their leaders been less anxious to join the organized labor group, had they not forced through the joint-convention resolution of the morning, we would have turned the Forty-Eighters into a real Single Tax movement.

That is the story of Oscar Geiger's speech before the Committee of Forty-Eight—the greatest Single Tax speech I have ever heard.—FRANK CHODOROV.

## What Is the Matter With Hell's Kitchen

FAILURE BY CITY TO COLLECT ADEQUATE TAXES PRODUCES SLUMS. EXCISE TAX ON INADEQUATELY IMPROVED PROPERTY RECOMMENDED FOR SLUM CLEARANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

THE American Association for Scientific Taxation, among others, was invited to present to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of New York proposals for a tax plan that would take care of unemployment relief in substitution for the proposal by Mayor LaGuardia to impose a tax on business.

Following is the substance of the communications addressed to the City authorities on the subject:

The study made by the Association on this subject indicates that the failure of the City to collect the value of City services from favored sites, particularly in Manhattan is a major cause of the conditions making relief necessary.

We recommend that the City, through its Tax Department, immediately proceed to collect from inadequately improved sites, particularly those known as the slum areas, the full amount of the annual value of the sites, which is the product of public services rendered by the City.

Tenement House Commissioner Post has stated that the City renders \$3 of service for every \$1 collected in taxes from these slum areas.

Two issues are paramount in this administration:

1. The City requires additional revenue.
2. The slums must be cleared.

The City has the means to accomplish both of these objectives in its Tax Department.

It is not sufficient to say that "real estate is overburdened."

Most improved properties, and particularly homes, are *overtaxed*. Vacant land and sites encumbered with worn-out, useless buildings are *undertaxed*.

### QUEENS HOMES AND OTHER RESIDENCE SECTIONS ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

In Queens County, the assessment for home building and improvements is, on the average, about five times

the assessment for land value. There are stated to be 175,000 separately owned homes in Queens. On the average, homes in Queens are worth about \$5,000, built on lots worth about \$1,000 each.

This represents the average adequate improvement for homes. Experienced builders say that an adequate improvement for a home should be at the ratio of five to one; that is, five dollars for the building to one dollar of land value. This rule is born of experience.

#### MANHATTAN FAVORED AGAINST OTHER BOROUGHES

We find the following situation in 1934:

##### ASSESSMENTS

| BOROUGH     | LAND            | IMPROVEMENTS    | TOTAL            |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Manhattan - | \$4,664,011,697 | \$4,050,148,369 | \$8,714,160,066  |
| Bronx -     | 672,381,511     | 1,253,892,328   | 1,926,273,839    |
| Brooklyn -  | 1,601,443,840   | 2,415,216,479   | 4,016,660,319    |
| Queens -    | 923,868,923     | 1,624,503,765   | 2,188,372,688    |
| Richmond -  | 139,290,025     | 164,479,620     | 303,769,645      |
| Total       | \$8,000,995,996 | \$9,148,240,561 | \$17,149,236,557 |

Manhattan pays on about \$600,000,000 less for improvements than for land value, whereas Bronx pays on about \$500,000,000 more for improvements than for land; Brooklyn pays on about \$800,000,000 more for buildings than for land; Queens on about \$340,000,000 more and Richmond on about \$25,000,000 more. This differential *in favor of Manhattan and against the other four boroughs* makes a total of about \$2,365,000,000. The tax on this is about \$60,000,000 a year. This means that every year upwards of \$60,000,000 is diverted from these four boroughs in favor of land values in Manhattan. In this fact lies the chief cause of the piling up of high land values in Manhattan, which go to the private owners of the land instead of into the City treasury.

Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Richmond are the chief residence sections for small home owners. In these four boroughs the holding of land is comparatively widely distributed among small property owners, whereas on Manhattan Island all of the land is owned by about two per cent of the population.

The effect of excessive taxation on improvement values is to "peak up" land values in favored locations, particularly in Manhattan, and is the chief cause of the abnormal values placed on so-called slum areas in Manhattan which represent land value only, the buildings in most cases being outmoded and worthless.

Mr. Grover A. Whalen, Chairman of the Sales Tax Committee, is right in saying that a tax on gross receipts of business violates sound taxing principles.

He is also right in saying that this tax will tend to drive business out of the City of New York.

The proposed tax on non-residents is wrong because to that extent it will keep people away from New York City, depriving merchants of that much of their business.

The proposed tax on transit fares is a mistake for the same reason. It would retard trade.

All of these proposals fail to take into account the land values of the city created by the spending of tax money.

Sound taxing principle requires a tax to be levied according to benefits received from the expenditure of tax money.

Increasing business resulting from increasing population, from better advantages of transportation and from other public facilities increases the site value of the land in the area affected.

Industry can pay a high rate for a site where business advantages are centered.

Manhattan sites are the chief recipients of the benefits of the City's expenditure of money. Manhattan sites, on the other hand, in proportion to benefits received, pay the least of any of the boroughs.

The City Tax Department records for 1933 show that assessed land values for the entire City amount approximately to eight and a half billions, whereas the total for land and buildings is approximately seventeen billions. In round figures, improvement assessments equal land value assessments.

Each site, therefore, if it is bearing its share of the tax burden and paying its proportion for benefits received from tax money, should be improved to an assessed value at least equal to the assessed land value.

Every site in Manhattan (and elsewhere) that is assessed for less on its buildings than it is on its land is absorbing and wasting public money at the expense of sites which are improved for value greater than the land value.

The great bulk of sites in Manhattan, in respect to numbers, area, and valuations, are grossly under-assessed.

A few sites are tremendously over-assessed and unjustly overburdened with taxation.

#### TWELVE BLOCKS IN HELL'S KITCHEN

This Association recently made a survey of twelve blocks of land lying between Ninth Avenue and Eleventh Avenue, running from West 47th Street to West 53rd Street. This is part of the neighborhood commonly called Hell's Kitchen.

These twelve blocks contain 688 taxable parcels, having a total assessed land value for 1934 of \$15,099,610. Of these 688 parcels, *only 16* are improved to an amount equal to or more than the land value, leaving 672 parcels inadequately improved or not improved at all.

The total land value of these entire twelve blocks (excluding the sixteen parcels that are inadequately improved) is \$14,219,110. The total improvements on these parcels amount to \$5,455,000, leaving a difference of \$8,764,110 of value, which is not taxed and is not paying its share for benefits received.

Applying the rule that each site should pay on improvements equal to the land value, these 672 inadequately improved sites in these twelve blocks are underpaying the City for the year 1934 the sum of \$238,383.79 at the 1934 tax rate.

### THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

In Block No. 1060, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues and 50th and 51st Streets, the New York Telephone Company owns twelve lots in the middle of the block assessed for \$230,000, on which it has built a magnificent building assessed for \$3,220,000, total \$3,450,000. This is an over-assessment in comparison with the general average of the City of \$2,990,000.

The New York Telephone Company paid its tax bill of \$93,840 on these twelve lots, which is \$81,328 per year more than its share compared with the general average. The rest of the block is disgracefully under-improved and correspondingly under-assessed, except a parcel of four lots at No. 438-442 West 51st Street owned by Parker & Stewart, which has a building assessed for \$70,000 on land assessed for \$50,000—a \$20,000 over-assessment. Excluding these two parcels the remaining 50 parcels in this block are assessed on a total land value of \$1,119,550, with total improvements assessed for \$422,000. Their aggregate tax bill is \$41,930.16. They underpay the City \$18,972 on the present application of the budget for benefits received from the 1934 budget.

Industry, represented in this block particularly by the New York Telephone Company, on twelve lots only, pays more than twice as much as the remaining fifty lots—an over-payment of \$81,328, or seven and one-half times its share.

It is idle to say, because the New York Telephone Company is a monopoly and can afford to pay it, that this does not hurt industry. These excessive and unjust taxes are included by the Telephone Company in its bill of costs upon which its rates to consumers are made. These excess tax payments are passed on to the consumer. No department store, hotel, office building or apartment house can keep up an excess payment of taxes unless it can either take it out of cost by reducing wages and prices paid for goods or pass the burden on to the consumer by increasing the price of goods purchased or offices and apartments rented. Purchasing power is accordingly reduced under either alternative. To the extent that industry is unjustly taxed, it is destroyed or driven away from the City.

The adequate improver of land creates employment by erecting a building and by operating and maintaining it.

The holder of land out of adequate use destroys the opportunity to build, thereby directly causing unemployment of labor, for the benefit of which the industrious are overtaxed.

Ability to pay taxes, in the long run, must be measured by just payment for benefits received from taxation. Otherwise the tax base is weakened or destroyed.

### SUBSTITUTE PROPOSAL

#### SPECIAL EXCISE TAX UPON INADEQUATELY IMPROVED LAND

It is urged, therefore, that to meet the problem of relief for unemployment, a special excise law be levied on each site of land in New York City which is not improved to a value equal to the site value. The rate of the special excise tax should be the current rate of taxation, to be added to the regular tax only in the proportion that the land value of the site exceeds the assessed improvement value.

As a result of this tax, inadequately improved sites will be improved to meet the tax, thus increasing the revenue of the City and at the same time creating jobs for builders, masons, plumbers, carpenters, and others, and eliminating the problem of unemployment which now burdens the City.

We present the following as a suggestion for the text of such a law:

The owner of each separately assessed plot of land within the City of New York which is not adequately improved shall pay, in addition to the current local tax, a special excise tax equal to the amount of such local tax assessed on the value of the land.

For the purposes of this special excise tax, a plot shall be deemed to be not adequately improved where the assessment for buildings and improvements is less than the assessment for land alone.

Any plot which is partially improved shall be liable for this special excise tax only to the extent of the difference between the current assessment for land and the current assessment for buildings and improvements.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR SCIENTIFIC TAXATION.

WALTER FAIRCHILD,

Chairman Legislative Committee.

## Manhattan Club Activities

PRESIDENT CHARLES H. INGERSOLL'S public meetings since our last report were as follows:

Ladies' Auxiliary of the Kenny Memorial Hospital. Separate Battalion (Colored) Armory, Newark, N. J., June 22.—Thomas Wallace Swann introduced Mr. Ingersoll to the audience who were more than cordial and will work for him; 300 present.

Binghamton, N. Y. Chamber of Commerce, June 25.—Luncheon; Mr. Woodcott, President and Reporter Evans introduced him; meeting exceptional; crowd of young business men; 75 present; fine quiz of one hour; talk 35 minutes.

Cortland Exchange Club, N. Y., June 25.—Dinner;

drove from Binghamton, arrived just in time. Received by President Burgess at beautiful country club; 50 present; talk 30 minutes; quiz one hour.

Rochester Rotary Club, June 26.—Luncheon; reporters from three papers and photographers took most of Mr. Ingersoll's time. Second largest Rotary Club in the United States. Audience over 400; talk broadcast over WHAM; 30 minutes; questions came in profusion; quiz lasted till 4:30.

Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, June 27.—Luncheon; unusual crowd at Y. M. C. A., more than former ever had before; 125 of two clubs; meeting turned over to Mr. Ingersoll; original talk of 30 minutes; quiz two hours. Mr. Lingham who arranged these meetings expressed himself much pleased. Entertained Mr. Ingersoll at his club and showed him his 200 ft. high flour mill that ships 1,000 barrels a day.

Meeting at C. D. Blackhall's printing office, 35 N. Division Street, Buffalo, N. Y., June 27.—Ten or twelve old timers; spent evening reminiscing; F. P. Jones, W. J. Leary, D. F. Boechat, W. S. Rann, C. A. Lingham and others present. Mr. Seelbach reported Rochester Radio as being very fine, and Boechat and Blackhall joined in saying, "You cover the whole story and your scheme of forcing questions multiplies the effect."

Fifth Avenue High School, Pittsburgh, June 28.—Arrived 9:30 after swift drive from Buffalo, 240 miles in six hours. Mayor McNair introduced Mr. Ingersoll and he talked 15 minutes in the open air. Toll charge for auto tubes through mountain was the subject.

Henry George Club, Pittsburgh, June 29.—Luncheon; 50 present; P. R. Williams, introduction; original talk 35 minutes; quiz one hour; very fine meeting.

Real Estate Association, Olympia Park, McKeesport, June 29.—Fifty present; talk 35 minutes; quiz one hour; responsive and intelligent crowd; P. R. Williams, also spoke.

Knoxville Civic League, Knoxville Jr. High School, June 29; evening.—Fine meeting of protest on tubes; talk of 30 minutes.

Northside City Hall, protest meeting; June 20; evening.—One hundred, well mixed crowd. Several preceded Mr. Ingersoll, who talked 20 minutes and in light vein; no quiz. Mayor's Secretary, Moritz, also spoke.

M. E. Buena Vista Street Church, July 1, afternoon.—Only 30 present; talked one-half hour.

First Baptist Church, Pittsburgh, July 1, afternoon.—W. J. Wasson pastor; 50 present; original 40 minute talk—rapid, simple and pointed; seemed to satisfy everybody; few questions. Bonta, who also talked said they got it, and believes many were converted.

New Jersey Tax Protective League, July 31, evening.—President Becker gave very fine introduction to audience of 100, half women. Mr. Ingersoll talked for 45 minutes taking the cue from Becker, who said that he talked over the heads of some of his people; and he must

have succeeded in his determination not to do it again because of Becker's closing talk and particularly Mr. Smith who said this: "I have been listening to talks on taxation all my life but I have never heard the subject really talked plainly until Mr. Ingersoll's talk tonight. This is the first time it has ever been made clear to me, and if there is one person here who has not understood him, I would like to examine his head and see why it had not gone over."

Pilgrimage to grave of Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster, Pa., Aug. 4.—Thirty people attending. Mr. Ingersoll spoke 10 minutes; Gladwin Bouton accompanied him. Outstanding feature was broadcast at WGAL where he gave selected Single Tax items from his Current Events. This is a very good station affiliated with WILM.

Farchers Grove, Union Hill, N. J., Aug. 5. afternoon.—This was an outing sponsored by the New Jersey Tax Protective League. Typical political barbecue; 300 present; talked for one-half hour. First political speech; Mr. Ingersoll handled the issue attractively and tied them in effectively with Single Tax.

Mr. Ingersoll's broadcasting proceeds with about the same force in addition to the personal lectures above and his political activities in New Jersey. He has however concentrated his broadcasts largely on Monday and Wednesday leaving the balance of the week relatively free; following is his schedule:

Monday—WARD, 9:15 a. m.; WBNX, 10:45 a. m.; WCNW, 2:45 p. m.

Wednesday—WBNX, 10:45 a. m.; WCNW, 2:45 p. m.; WBBC, 3:30 p. m.; WWRL, 10 p. m.

Friday—WDAS, 5:15 p. m. Saturday—WDAS, 10:15 a. m. Sunday—WWRL, 2:30 p. m.

The New Jersey campaign is getting more of the president's time and is a great source of Georgist publicity.

Mr. Ingersoll is methodically calling on every editor of the State and as a result, getting some very fine publicity almost exclusively on taxation. He is also calling on every tax organization to secure their favor and arrange meetings; as there are between 200 and 300 each of papers and taxpayers leagues, the size of this task is apparent and makes the Chevrolet, in which he has now travelled 60,000 miles, a real asset.

The aim is to have a release each week and here are some extracts from our current release which has had reprint in many of the largest papers.

"New Jersey is Tax Conscious! And it deserves a chief administrator who knows what to do for a Tax Conscious People." \* \* \*

"But all this provision for economy, is only a part of the full programme of tax reduction: neither of the associations mentioned have yet given any attention to the source of taxation: they assume it makes no difference what is taxed, since the people pay all, but the source is the most vital of all questions: upon your choice of source depends whether you tax industry into depression

and people into poverty or whether you use the destructive power of taxation upon the only thing you want to destroy—and that is monopoly.”

“All taxation should rest on public values and none upon private property: government makes these public or social values, in franchises and natural resources and valuable city land, and these values should pay for the government that creates them: using social revenues for social needs, would leave all private and individual wealth free of every tax, the multiplicity of which now has brought business and industry to the verge of bankruptcy. So, in New Jersey, I would hope to start, during my term of office, a movement which, in time—possibly ten years—would abolish all taxation as we now know it, by shifting it to these social values that are now going into speculator’s pockets; the far-reaching effects of this constructive use of the taxing power can only be imagined when you consider that our present system, in taxing industry and exempting speculation, caused the breakdown of ‘capitalism,’ the destruction of which the Socialists now threaten, and are making rapid progress in doing.”

The campaign will apparently be limited in scope for lack of funds—limited largely to Mr. Ingersoll’s personal work, and so very likely will not be a winning campaign, but it will have a very large proportion of maximum publicity and poll a large vote. Mr. Charles S. Prizer, formerly of Reading, Pa., and Somerville, N. J., and one of the oldest Single Taxers in the movement, is organizing a Ways and Means Committee for the purpose of raising a small fund for this work.

Mr. Ingersoll is avoiding personalities but has demanded Governor Moore’s impeachment for having reappointed a judge who had bought his office for \$25,000 cash, and for this Mr. Ingersoll has been excluded from the air by WHOM. He expects also to raise important questions about copious campaign funds from special interests used by one of the candidates.

We are working on a broadcast symposium of interviews of twenty-six Mayors from leading cities of the country starting with Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh who has already appeared with Mr. Ingersoll on WOR and WDAS of Philadelphia. Mr. Ingersoll will interview each of these Mayors over WOR, and of course will develop the taxation question in each case. He requests that all Single Taxers tune in at 7:45 p. m. every Saturday.

MARCELLA STUTMAN, Office Secretary.

**O**PENING the land to labor will end involuntary idleness but the opening must not be restricted to one form of industry subject to arbitrary regulation. President Roosevelt’s reforestation proposal is subject to this criticism. It is like trying to free an immense imprisoned army by opening the prison door a fraction of an inch. This is one way how not to do it.

## Sir George Fowlds Passes

**T**HE death of Sir George Fowlds of Auckland, New Zealand, on Aug. 17 at the age of 74, will be an incident of keen regret to the friends of the Henry George movement in all lands. Almost to the last he appeared to be in the best of health, but an operation for appendicitis was followed by his death a few days later.

He was the champion of many great causes, but the dominating and absorbing interest of his life was the philosophy of Henry George. Mr. C. D. McLean of Auckland informs us that a few days before his death he expressed a desire to present a scholarship in the Henry George School out of the small estate of which he and Mr. McLean and Mr. Nightingale were the administrators. We are happy to inform our readers that his wishes were carried out and check for this scholarship has been received.

As a boy George Fowlds worked on his father’s farm and at the loom. He was born in Fenwick, Ayr. At 22 he decided to seek his fortune abroad and arrived at Capetown with a few shillings in his pocket. In 1884 he married Miss Fulton, but as the South African climate was unsuitable for her they set out for New Zealand. He bought a small clothing business which rapidly grew, with a branch in Wellington.

In 1899 he was elected to Parliament as one of the three representatives from Auckland City. In 1902 he was elected as representative from another New Zealand constituency constituting Grey Lynn, and he held his seat till 1911. Then he was defeated but in 1914 was again elected.

For his patriotic services during the war he received the title of Commander of the British Empire and in 1928 he was made Knight Bachelor. Occupying many positions, Minister of Education for New Zealand and later president of the Auckland University, he found time for church work, lecturing and traveling. It is interesting to record that he went to South Africa as representative of New Zealand at the opening of the first South African Parliament, thus renewing his acquaintance with the land he had known in youth.

Sir George is survived by Lady Fowlds, three daughters and four sons.

It is not too much to say that Sir George was Auckland’s first citizen. He came to this country some years ago and the welcome extended to him by Henry George men here is well remembered.

Many were the tributes paid him by the press of New Zealand. *The Auckland Star* says of him:

Though the passing of such a man is a loss to the whole of the Dominion, it will be especially felt by educationists and by the Auckland University. With the latter he was associated in its early struggles; he saw it grow to a measure of stature; and later guided it as its president

\* \* \*

The high regard in which he was held by his country was shown by the presentation made to him at a public meeting on Sept. 22 of last year in the Town Hall, at which tributes to his public record were made by leading business men.

The *New Zealand Herald* in a column editorial paid him this tribute:

Few men have left so positive an influence for good on New Zealand as Sir George Fowlds, whose death is deeply mourned by the whole community. He lived intensely and lived well, selflessly devoting every talent he possessed to the general welfare. Honors came to him, honors that he could not more appreciate because they were manifestly bestowed in sincere acknowledgment of service greatly rendered, but it was not for them that he laid out his life. The task was ever the absorbing interest, and in its doing he found the highest joy of all. When in a near yesterday he divested himself of some public responsibilities it was the relinquishing of their burden, as those nearest to him fully understood, that gave him more poignant regret than the taking of a part less prominent in the public gaze. In work he had ever found delight, and even his gladness that others were ready to step into places he was vacating could not wholly compensate him for the realized loss of room to toil as had been his wont. That he should still retain some posts of service was characteristic. Thus, although in a restricted sphere, he kept going right to the end. This, it is certain, would have been his own choice. He was not bred in easy circumstances; by his own qualities of industry and courage he made a place for himself, and in every phase of his career "marched breast forward." It mattered little to him whether the cause he espoused was popular or unpopular; he never lost "the common touch," but was prepared to stand alone, if need be, so long as the cherished ideal or principle could be maintained. Foremost in every recollection of him this essential attribute of his character will ever have thought. It is the key to all his real success, and the splendid redemption of every seeming failure.

## Professor Alonso of Salamanca Visits New York

**W**HEN Prof. Antonio F. Matheu Alonso arrived in New York on Saturday, Aug. 9 on the Marquis de Camillos, a committee consisting of Chas. Joseph Smith and Joseph Dana Miller met him at the dock.

On the Monday evening following a hurried application to the telephone brought together at Miller's Restaurant, 115 Nassau Street, a group of thirteen New York Henry George men to greet him. There would have been more had time permitted. Those who gathered were Chas. Joseph Smith, Prof. George Geiger, Max Berkowitz, Joseph Dana Miller, Gaston Haxo, Morris Van Veen, Mr. and Mrs. John Luxton, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond V. McNally, and Edward C. Molino.

Prof. Alonso is teacher of economics and French at the University of Salamanca. If he can find time he will translate Prof. Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George."

All of Henry George's works, he informed us, have been translated for Spanish readers.

On the day following the Marquis de Camillos departed for Cadiz. On the boat with Prof. Alonso to the last bell were Messrs. Van Veen, John Luxton, Chas. Joseph Smith and the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM.

All who had the pleasure of meeting Prof. Alonso were delighted with him. It seemed that we were meeting with an old friend. He radiates friendship and sincerity. His eyes sparkled with enjoyment whenever friends of the movement were mentioned, and he talks of his Georgist colleagues in Spain in the same terms of affection.

"What do the people of Spain think of the Roosevelt plan of recovery?" we asked him.

With a twinkle in his eye he answered: "We Georgists know—the others are like your own people."

Yes, we Georgists know—everywhere in all lands we know, because the truth has been revealed to us.

Bon voyage, Professor! Here's hoping we meet again.

## Campaign for the California Amendment

**S**INCE last reporting to LAND AND FREEDOM, certain developments have taken place in the campaign for the adoption of a constitutional amendment in California doing away with the sales tax and also with all taxation on tangible personal property and improvements.

Over 200,000 signatures were obtained, largely in Los Angeles and San Francisco, for this initiative proposition. On the check-up by the County Clerks, however, only about 108,000 passed muster when 110,811 were necessary. A re-check would undoubtedly have put us many thousands to the good, but time only permitted this to the extent of 15,000 names, which increased our vote by over 2,000, but not enough to meet the constitutional requirement for a place on the November ballot.

We are advised that upon procuring an additional two or three thousand names, we will be assured of a place on the next special election ballot, and this is likely to occur as early as next February. Steps are now under way to procure the additional signatures needed, and within a week's time they undoubtedly will be presented to the County Clerks.

The foregoing is a disappointment to us so far as immediate action is concerned, but who is wise enough to say that in the long run it will not be to the good? We shall have certainly three or four months' additional time in which to carry on the work of education, something, from our point of view, of the highest possible value. The three months before the Fall election offered an entirely insufficient time for this purpose.

We are fortunate in having had the assistance of John Lawrence Monroe, who it is to be hoped will find it possible to take an active part in the work of education, par-

ticularly in Southern California. Meanwhile, in both the North and the South we are intending to push the work of organization and education just as rapidly as may be possible.

\* \* \*

Since writing the foregoing I am able to speak definitely about our situation in California. It appears, from a letter received today from the secretary of State of California, that our entire shortage in names up to the present time amounts only to 1,599. We are now arranging to get 3,000 additional names in Los Angeles County, which is yet open to us. These names will of course amount to about double our deficiency. This insures us a place upon the next ballot succeeding this Fall, either at a general or a special election. There is every probability that before the winter is out a special election will be held to authorize certain state bonds, and that at that time our measure will go before the people.

To get this measure upon the ballot has cost between five and six thousand dollars, the greater part of which was raised in California, with some assistance from the East. The largest individual contribution we have received outside the state was \$100 from Mr. Franklin Wentworth of Boston.

To carry on such a campaign as we should inaugurate for the adoption of the amendment, a very considerable sum should be raised. We can use to advantage \$20,000, and to do our best should have this amount. This would enable us to use the radio extensively, and also have the needed amount of printing. We are justified in calling upon all our friends in every part of the United States to join in this work.

The importance of the campaign can hardly be exaggerated. If we succeed we will in the course of five years transfer the entire taxation upon tangible personal property and improvements to land values. We will have carried our fight a good half way toward the final goal. We will have given an example and illustration to advocates of real taxation reform in every part of the United States and abroad. If there is any cause more worthy of sacrifice and more fruitful in its promises than this, I am unable to state what it is.

Left over from the campaign there will be a limited number of blank unused petitions. May I suggest that until they are exhausted, any contributor to our fight may call upon our treasurers, A. J. Samis, 2422 N. Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, or Edgar Pomeroy, 83 McAllister Street, San Francisco, for a copy. These copies will serve as a memento of a contest which may easily become historic, and at the same time serve as an indication of the practical road out to success for our movement.

About three years ago, in the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM, I pointed out that the best states for such a movement to be brought to fruition were Massachusetts and Michigan, with California a third less favorably

situated. It was left to us in California to take the first step, as the other states did apparently nothing. Let us hope that they will wake up to the situation in the near future.—JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## A Prize Offer

**A** SUPPORTER of the Henry George School of Social Science offers a prize of fifteen dollars (\$15.00) for a statement of the Henry George plan of taking the rent of land instead of taxes.

The statement should not exceed about 200 words, so that it could easily be put on a card.

The merits will be judged as follows:

|                                              |      |
|----------------------------------------------|------|
| Likelihood of attracting attention and being |      |
| passed on - - - - -                          | 50%  |
| Comprehensiveness - - - - -                  | 25%  |
| Clearness - - - - -                          | 25%  |
|                                              | 100% |

Mr. Fowles, the new director of the School, has kindly consented to act as judge. Contest closes with close of year, December 31, 1934.

All contestants should write clearly on one side only of the paper or postal card and send it either under their own name or a pen name to Bolton Hall, 17 West 28th Street, New York City, Chairman Library Committee of Henry George School.

## Immediate Action

**I** THINK this question should be exploited both in the interest of definite action and of the circulation of our papers.

"Suppose you were in the cabinet of the President or in his inner circle of advisers, with, as at present, some sympathy among them with our principles and aims—

"What would you ask him and his aides to do, that would be practicable and hopeful for people interested in political success, as well as in the people?"—B. H.

## Good News From Canada

**Y**OUR readers will be glad to know that the reactionary Tory party was defeated "horse, foot and artillery," in the recent election of the Liberals with a majority of around 40. Of still more interest, I would advise you that our friend, Mr. A. W. Roebuck, for many years on our executive, a past secretary and president of the Single Tax Association, will be the next Attorney General and in my humble judgment will be the brains of the administration.

It is his intention if he can secure the necessary backing, to introduce as an emergency measure a special exemption from all taxation on all new buildings erected in the province of Ontario during the next five or ten years as may be decided.—ALAN L. THOMPSON, Toronto.

## Tributes to Oscar H. Geiger

I am deeply grieved to read of the death of Mr. Geiger and can only hope that his work will be continued.—REV. MERVYN J. STEWART, Bishops Stortford, England.

I cannot tell you of my deep regret upon learning of the death of Oscar Geiger. No one will miss him more than I for though I saw him only once I wrote him often. I need not tell you of my great admiration of his sincerity and the splendid work he was doing. It was with a keen sense of personal loss I learned of his passing. Please convey to Mrs. Geiger the assurance of my sincere regrets.—ABE D. WALDAUER, Memphis, Tenn.

I am shocked to learn of the death of Mr. Geiger. It seems that fate is treating us unkindly. Mr. Brown's death was a sad loss indeed. Now that Mr. Geiger has been taken what can be done?—DR. F. M. PADEFORD, Fall River, Mass.

May Mr. Geiger's noble adventure be carried on by the younger adherents and the assistance of friends to a great success.—EMIL KNIPS, Fairhope, Ala.

It was with the keenest anguish that I learned a little over a week ago of the death of your dear friend and associate and humanity's servant, Mr. Geiger. I never enjoyed seeing any two persons together so much as you and your "Oscy" as I used to like to hear you call him!

Honor to him who knew no compromise,  
The loyal soul, who when his strength was spent,  
And there were mists of death about his eyes.  
Betook him, like a soldier from his tent—  
His people called—he loved them and he went.\*

[\*From "Henry George—Anniversary Ode," by Joseph Dana Miller, read by James A. Herne, of Shore Acres, at Grand Central Palace, this city, 1899.]

During those all too short years that Mr. Geiger devoted to the Henry George School of Social Science he lived what to many men I believe would be a life-time. Of course he did more than start the School. He demonstrated a method of propaganda that will be adopted widely as the years go on. Without having known of Mr. Geiger's passing Mr. Albert J. Milligan and I had been talking of establishing a Pacific Coast branch of the School in San Francisco. Mr. Milligan has conducted several classes in "Progress and Poverty" but he was hoping that he could go East this fall and study with Mr. Geiger to learn the secret of his great success as a teacher.—JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

Harry Weinberger has won an enviable reputation as a defender of those who speak for despised or unpopular causes. It may be guessed that with some of these causes our friend has scant sympathy, but like Voltaire he is willing to champion the freedom to express them. For, as he says, "The liberty of the press is the right to say foolish things as well as the right to say sensible things."

It must be remembered that only recently there has emanated from administration circles a threat in which the licensing of the press was covertly concealed. The haste with which it was disavowed may help to reassure us, but only by eternal vigilance can liberty be made safe.

In these two addresses bound together in board covers and neatly printed our distinguished friend tells of the early struggle for the

freedom of the press in this city, a freedom which we cannot be too certain is permanently secure. Indeed Mr. Weinberger points out that only recently the New York Court of Appeals has decided that street meetings could be prohibited by municipalities. "Yet the American Bar is not shocked, the American Bar is not aroused and the people are too busy with their economic problems, or too indifferent, to protest and correct this invasion of their liberties."

In the first address delivered at Independence Hall before the Philadelphia Bar Association Mr. Weinberger gives an interesting account of the trial of John Peter Zenger for criminal libel during colonial days. Zenger had expressed views contrary to those held by the autocratic governor.

The second address was made before the New York Bar Association, and the subject was Andrew Hamilton, who had come from Philadelphia at the age of eighty to defend John Peter Zenger without fee. Andrew Hamilton protested the court's decision to have the jury decide only the facts; he contended that the jury should decide both the law and the facts, and he won out, and John Peter Zenger departed a free man.

Hamilton's triumph was complete. The Common Council which included the Aldermen and Mayor presented him with the freedom of the city and money to buy a gold box to enclose the seal of said freedom.

Mr. Weinberger has told the story well and with occasional eloquence and a full apprehension of the significance of this great fight for the liberty of the press.

The little work can be had for \$1.50. It contains a photostat of the affidavit of John Peter Zenger never before published. It came recently to light in an old house that was being torn down in New Jersey.—J. D. M.

### GEORGE MISREPRESENTED

Our friends, the "liberationists" of West Australia, contend for the abolition of interest as the inevitable result of the adoption of the collection of the full annual rent of land. They indict George's theory of the origin of interest as well as his defense of its justice and persistence.

The author of this work agrees with our West Australian friends that interest will not persist in a society where the full economic rent is appropriated by government. But curiously as it may appear to many of our readers he defends his thesis by a direct appeal to the teachings of George himself.

To do so he is forced to wrest certain factors out of their due relation and to give a new and wholly unjustified meaning to a number of George's statements. When he says that "interest will not go to the individual for the use of capital" we wonder where the maker of capital, preferring to lend rather than to consume, comes in.

We question the validity of most of the author's premises: For example this: "The payment of interest for the use of wealth—capital—implies the payment of a price greater than the cost of production."

And this: "Interest is not produced by labor or capital either singly or collectively. *It is a land product.*" (The italics are ours). Yet the author tells us that "interest is swallowed up as rent and wages." Then it is received by labor and we do not escape the reality by changing the name. We need to remind the author that interest is a part of wages paid to the creators of capital who prefer to lend rather than to consume. To deny the justice of this is to deny the justice of wages, since a man owns what he creates. The author contends that "capital cannot earn interest because capital is inert." This is a palpable evasion of the economic truth that capital is not inert when united with labor.

Mr. Green expresses the opinion that "rent will neither rise nor fall as a result of a change from slavery to freedom." We think it dem-

\*The Profits of the Earth, by Charles A. Green, 12 mo., clo., 143pp. Price \$1.25, The Christopher Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

onstrable that rent will rise as a totality. Taxes on improvements tend to depress land values. With all taxes removed we enter upon a period where all industry is released and the result will surely be reflected in increased land values. Oscar Geiger, in his illuminating lectures, so held and illustrated it with diagrams amounting to a practical demonstration.

Nor do we agree with the author that resort to the immediate collection of the full economic rent would occasion any greater shock to existing institutions than the depression begun in 1929 through which we are now passing. For it must be remembered that with the resumption of man's right to the use of the earth something will have occurred that has marked no other financial shock or depression by immediately abolishing all obstacles that now cause wide-spread unemployment. For with the immediate declaration of a free earth all or nearly all land that has any value would almost at once pass into use. While we need not expect that this great change can be accomplished without certain losses to individuals, such losses would not approximate to the wholesale depression and consequent deprivation to which nearly all classes have been subject in the years 1929-1934.

We do not like the chapters on money, not only because we wholly disagree with them, but additionally because of the abusive terms he uses against the advocates of a metallic basis. His own suggestion for a monetary system, the issuance of certificates based on public improvements, has never had anything but a limited sanction in history and is "void for uncertainty." Knowing the fury of the inflationist when aroused we dread what might happen when a supposed scarcity of money would lead to an expanding programme to provide additional "scrip." We prefer to see the economic fundamentals settled first, leaving the problem of money—if it is a problem—to a generation free to consider it without bias and with a clearer apprehension of natural laws.

This work is written to set Georgists right. But Mr. Green has wholly misrepresented George's position on the question of interest. The work will do no good and may do a deal of harm.—J. D. M.

#### A FRENCH RENDERING OF CONDITION OF LABOR

Recently, through the enterprise of M. Sam Meyer, leader of the French followers of Henry George, there has been published a fine French translation of Henry George's "Condition of Labor," comprising the famous letter to Pope Leo XIII. The translator was M. Paul Passy who is head of the Christian Socialists of France, but who has taken great interest in urging upon his followers a reading of the books of Henry George. A limited issue of this excellent French translation of a famous book (paper cover—78pp.), is offered for sale in the United States by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, at the price of 25 cents per copy, postage paid.

## Correspondence

### IDA TARBELL ON HENRY GEORGE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The otherwise excellent article by Ida M. Tarbell in the current *Forum* is marred by coupling the name Henry George, a political economist, with Edward Bellamy, a novelist. The former possessed a scientific, self-trained mind, capable of reasoning from cause to effect. With the precision of an engineer he attacked every economic problem.

The latter lacked these qualities. To associate these two personalities, simply because both dealt with the same subject matter, economic reform, is pointless. There might have been some justification for contrasting them.

Likewise, Miss Tarbell is most unfortunate in referring to Father McGlynn as the Father Coughlin of his day. In truth, Father

McGlynn was everything but that. Both, to be sure, were adherents of the Catholic faith and presumed to discuss economic questions. But there the likeness ends.

New York City.

BENJ. W. BURGER.

### DR. JORDAN MISSES THE POINT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Dr. Virgil Jordan made an address over WJZ tonight on the topic "National Wealth and Income." It was very cleverly arranged to convey the idea to the listening public that depressions are but natural phenomena in a world in which the distribution of wealth is both just and proper. Such statements by men or women who are entitled to the term Doctor carry so much weight with those mortals of lesser degree of scholastic learning that the need of such institutions of Truth as the Henry George School of Social Science is apparent.

Dr. Jordan began by pointing out that many persons, even government officials, use government statistics to prove the necessity for the New Deal. He was particularly emphatic that the statement that two per cent of the population receive eighty per cent of the income is a fallacy. He then started to define the term National Wealth and included land as wealth. No Single Taxer could find fault with his statement that money, stocks, bonds, checks, etc., are not wealth but mere tickets giving the holders a claim upon the stock of wealth. Not so fortunate was he when he defined wealth as that which enables man to produce an income, showing that he confuses all wealth with a portion of it known as capital.

He blamed government officials and all agitators outside of the government for speaking of the need of a new method of distribution, but the only method he mentioned as possible other than the present one is one of equal sharing by all workers in the products of labor. If he knows that there is such a suggestion as an equitable distribution of income, the full product of his labor to the laborer, the full product of the use of capital to capital, and the economic rent of the land to the whole people, he did not betray himself. In fact rent did not enter into his talk at all and we learned that labor gets so much of the return that capital gets but a trifle. Many businesses have been paying interest and dividends out of their savings of the fat years so that workmen may draw good wages according to the Doctor, all of which may or may not be true, but if true it is because of something that so far as Dr. Jordan's address goes is non-existent.

Dr. Jordan decries the talk about the profit system and seeks to explain that it is a profit and loss system, in bad times the workers taking the profits and the employers the losses. In fact one can hardly be blamed for getting the impression that Dr. Jordan both believes and does not believe in the existence of a depression. He calls the New Deal a New Steal in one breath, and then tells us that we own half the National Wealth and receive more than sixty-six and two-thirds per cent of the income; how else are we to take his statement that of about 27 billions produced in 1933 over 20 billions were paid out as wages, and the rest as salaries, interests, and dividends.

But Dr. Jordan in objecting to the use of statistics to prove what he calls a fallacy is illogical because his own use of statistics is to prove untrue statements since he left rent of land out of the reckoning. Also he states that in a certain year about forty per cent of the population owned their own homes and forty per cent of the farmers owned their farms. This is not true since a large part of these properties were and are mortgaged and are not truly the property of the holders until such mortgages are paid. Furthermore, he speaks of the large amount of insurance on the lives of millions of the population as potential wealth but he does not state that this wealth is partly present existing wealth produced by labor out of land with or without the assistance of capital, and as such is

the same as savings, and partly a wealth yet to be produced by labor in the future. It has no business to be used in any argument to disprove that certain individuals or interests are getting more than their proper share of the wealth produced at any particular time, the national income, in other words.

It might be a good thing for Dr. Jordan if he would acquaint himself with fundamental economics as laid down in "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George before starting out to combat President Roosevelt's policies and the claims of Communists and Socialists in a single speech.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN LUXTON.

### AN INJUSTICE TO LINCOLN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A local daily recently published a communication declaring that a quotation which has for years been attributed to Abraham Lincoln is a discredited myth. In various forms it has been claimed that Mr. Lincoln regarded even interstate trade as leading to social injustice, money being sent out of one locality for goods available at home. Among recent quoters of this apocryphal Lincoln utterance have been Senator Dickinson, of Iowa, Congressman Charles W. Henney, of Wisconsin and the famous Arthur Brisbane.

The matter is said to be dealt with fully in Prof. Taussig's book, "The Tariff, Free Trade and Reciprocity," to be found in libraries, and it appears possible that the quotation has been based, not on any statement of Lincoln, but rather on a fugitive remark of Robert G. Ingersoll in 1890.

Long Branch, N. J., July 6, 1934.

GEORGE WHITE.

### THE OLD GUARD IS PASSING ON

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The death of Mrs. Katherine E. Bradley, of Olean, killed in an automobile accident some two months ago, is a very real loss not only to the friends who knew and loved her well, but to our cause. She was an untiring worker, to whom all life was to be understood and explained in terms of the truth as taught by Henry George. Add to this burning conviction the charm of a frail little woman, of disarming gentleness, with a quick motherly sympathy for everyone she met, and you have a combination powerful in its influence for good. Of the many times I was privileged to meet and work with her one memory especially stands out clear in the grief at her passing. We crossed on the same boat to the Copenhagen Conference in '26, Mrs. Bradley, Miss Janet Brownlee and myself. And how often the picture comes back now, of this charming little gray-haired woman sitting, with embroidery or knitting, in a sheltered corner on the deck, an ideal portrait of a gentle grandmother. No one could pass by without stopping for a word with her. And anyone who stopped went away with a Single Tax Tract of some sort in his hand. She always had a pile of them beside her. And most of those tracts were read. For Mrs. Bradley's manner of arousing interest was so ingratiating, so sympathetic of the other's viewpoint, that half the battle was won before the visitor left her. She arranged a meeting in the saloon at which I spoke. Everyone attended and many questions were asked. Several of our shipboard acquaintances did come to some of the Copenhagen meetings.

Many converts Mrs. Bradley made in just that same gentle motherly way. Her sweetness of nature, and back of it the flame of a deep and warm belief, were invincible. Her personal friends will miss her sadly. And our work will miss her as well.

New Canaan, Conn.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

### WE TRY TO BE KINDLY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As a disciple of Henry George, I read with interest our Single Tax publication, LAND AND FREEDOM.

Much of it delights and interests me, but one policy that is pursued by the editor, is decidedly objectionable to me, and I think unworthy of a true follower of Henry George. His was a character which radiated kindness, courtesy, and tolerance. I am convinced that in order to be successful in spreading his gospel, and making converts to the Henry George theory, we must use his methods.

I believe many of the harsh criticism of the Administration and the President are out of place in a publication devoted to the principles of Henry George, which are based upon the Christian Ideal.

In the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, the letter addressed to Sleepy Garment Mills, Centerville, Mich., a copy of which you state was sent to the President, I regard as an insult and therefore, an instance of poor citizenship. If it ever reached the President, his re-action would be anything but friendly to our cause, and after all, are we not striving to make friends?

While you and I feel that the programme of recovery is complicated and economically unsound, that to adopt the Single Tax would simplify and expedite recovery, because it would be working with natural law instead of against it, we should give the Administration credit for right motives, and be patient yet a while with experimentation, for may it not be that Henry George's great philosophy has been reserved for "such a time as this."

I truly hope that if any formal protest against the programme is made at the coming Congress at Chicago, it will be done as Henry George would have done it.

Omaha, Neb.

MRS. H. J. BAILEY.

### ON UPTON SINCLAIR

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Notwithstanding his endorsement of the Single Tax philosophy as expressed on several occasions in public addresses, Upton Sinclair's advent on the political scene, is, in my judgment, by no means reassuring or helpful to the cause so dear to out-and-out Single Tax followers of Henry George. I have heard Sinclair but once on this theme and once was enough.

Sinclair is an opportunist, a self-seeker and a man with no distinct convictions, save that he is a thoroughgoing Socialist, but so completely befuddled with respect to what is sound economic doctrine as to be discredited by every George man who has heard him, or studied his numerous isms and bewildering theories, some of them contradictory. The occasion on which I formed an adverse judgment of this so-called reformer was the dinner given at Town Hall, New York City, last winter, when the plan was undertaken to bring Socialists and Single Taxers together to determine if there was not some common ground on which they might go forward in efforts to reform the present injustices in our social order.

At that meeting Sinclair demonstrated that he knows but little about the imperishable doctrines of Henry George. While he was saying a good word for the Single Tax in passing, it was plain that his mind was filled with the Socialist's error in declaring that capital is the guilty party and must be punished and rendered helpless by huge taxes on wealth as we Single Taxers define it. If this man shall be able, by his sophistries, to convince a majority of the voters of California that he is the right man for Governor of that Commonwealth, then I venture to predict that the cause of sound social reform will be set back at least a decade, since his attempt to put into effect the various nostrums he is now preaching will very quickly demonstrate their futility, and the electorate of the State will quickly return to a conservative course in politics. In such an eventuality we would suffer since the conservatives would class us as guilty with Sinclair and if we sought to disclaim association with him or sympathize with his ideas, they would simply point to his so-called endorsement of the Single Tax. I repeat that Sinclair is no real Single Taxer and never has been.

Westfield, N. J.

EDWIN J. JONES.

## LIBERTY AND EX-PRESIDENT HOOVER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Ex-President Herbert Hoover, writing in one of the popular magazines, attempts to defend what he is pleased to term liberty and to denounce national regimentation.

The article has more psychological interest than economic significance, for it demonstrates, with amazing force, how one may distort the common, every-day meaning of words—making a tragic mockery of them—so that they become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal, as the good Saint Paul would say.

If I believed in a multiplicity of laws—which I most assuredly do not—I would say that Hoover should be indicated for misrepresentation of our language, or for libel against sacred tradition or for fraudulent conversion of innocent words, for while the ex-President uses the platitudes of liberty, his brand of “liberty” is no different from the “liberty” that one may expect to find under a national regimentation regime, or the Fascism of Mussolini, or the Statism of Russia.

One of the platitudes of liberty should be memorized, for it is what noble souls have preached throughout the ages. It is as follows:

“It (liberty) is far more than independence of a nation. It is not a catalogue of political “rights.” Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions, and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of men can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security. It holds he must be free to earn, to spend, to save, honestly to accumulate property that may give protection to old age and to loved ones.”

If one stops to reflect a moment, it will become evident that this kind of liberty has never been put into effect.

(1) To this day, there still remains persecution in one form or another by both religious and anti-religious groups; (2) we are not free to hold opinions, for sedition laws (to mention but one form of restraint) still have teeth in them; (3) men dare not speak on every subject without fear of police, mobs, class prejudice, etc.; (4) men are not always free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice; the reverse is usually true; great wrongs go unrighted while justice is trampled upon; (5) the individual is not free to earn his living; he is lucky if he can get any sort of job.

The above is only the beginning of the indictment, for it would require encyclopedic treatment to cover the whole subject. But the following questions should make it clear that Herbert Hoover has no conception of what liberty really means.

How can any person be free in an “owned” world? When a worker must pay his fellow creature for permission to use the earth, he is almost as much a slave to that owner as if he were actually owned. When the land and natural resources are legally occupied, he is denied the right to work. And those who are fortunate enough to procure employment have most of their earnings taken away from them by landlords (in rent), by employers (in excess profits) and by government (in taxes).

How can there be liberty when the State grants a monopoly of economic rent to landlords? When it grants monopolies to public utilities and other exploiters?

What a mockery Hoover made of the term “liberty!”

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

## LATER NEWS FROM CALIFORNIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Mr. George W. Patterson wires me that the Registrar of voters has notified the Secretary of State of California that we have filed 4,200 additional good names. This carries us over the top with about 2,600 names to spare.

As a consequence of this our right to appear on the ballot at the

next general election after this fall is absolutely secure. However, it may not be necessary to wait the full two years, as a Governor may direct the measure to be taken up at an intermediate special election.

We are now off to a good start.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## WARNS AGAINST SOCIALIST ASSOCIATION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

This is a letter on three subjects. First, approval for your sound Georgism and interesting and valuable paper. I read it from beginning to end with pleasure and profit; then forward it to The Berry Schools, Mt. Berry, Ga.

Second, a deep regret for the untimely death of Oscar Geiger several weeks ago. He is a great loss. What will now become of the Henry George School of Social Science? Is there any one to carry it on? Good teachers are born, not made.

Third, criticism for Chas. H. Ingersoll's suggestion that Georgists “hook up” with socialists and income tax advocates.

We know by experience that all the advocates of such ideas are so enamoured of their own pet theories as to be impossible and worse than useless to us. By even seeming to associate ourselves with them we do our cause incalculable harm.

We have the simplest, most convincing and only sound principle for the benefit of all industry and thrift—labor and capital. Why befog it and damage our position by associating it with false doctrine?

Boston, Mass.

E. J. BURKE.

## MAYBE CLARENCE DARROW CAN ANSWER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have always been an admirer of Clarence Darrow, though not a believer in all his conclusions. And from the fact that I knew he was a Single Taxer, I cannot understand why he did not do something for the cause while on the recent Government Board instead of recommending something socialistic.

He would have made the world sit up and take notice if he had recommended Single Tax as the remedy.

Will some LAND AND FREEDOM writer please explain?

Youngstown, O.

JOHN F. CONROY.

## OBJECTS TO THE TERM SINGLE TAX

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

“What LAND AND FREEDOM Stands For,” is a persuasive statement of that philosophy. The following account of Lincoln's recognition of its essence is splendid. In this appear these forthright statements: “Let us not disguise it. They who own the land own the people upon it.” “And the way to perfect freedom is to take the economic rent of land and abolish all taxes. How often must this be said?”

But, as I went on, page after page, and noted but *four or five* allusions to that idea, the unconscious irony of your question, “How often must this be said?” kept recurring to my mind, until curiosity drove me to count the number of times the “Single Tax” was mentioned. The term appeared *not less than 138 times!*

A distinguished Henry Georgist confesses failure through fifteen years, to convert anybody to the philosophy of Henry George, by preachments, I presume, on the Single Tax.

That this is due, as he seems to think, to insufficient powers of persuasion, I cannot believe, because I can testify that for as long a period—up to the later days of the old *Public*—my record would match his. But I can also testify—with what I hope is a proper modesty—that my own inadequate powers of persuasion, since the happy day when I first refused to be known as a single, or any other kind of a *taxer*—when I began to say: “No, I'm not a Single Taxer, I'm opposed to any and every kind of taxation,” I have won many

the *philosophy* of Henry George. I have won befuddled Single Taxers themselves to the philosophy of Henry George.

A prominent representative of The National City Bank of New York, in a private letter, writes: "I read George's 'Progress and Poverty,' which is the Bible of the Single Taxers, when George ran for Mayor, and was impressed by it . . . until I came to realize that as an actual fact real estate has very little unearned increment. The theory is kept alive but I think it has receded rather than gained ground since that time." He speaks about land as wealth, about rent arising from land and buildings, and jumbled everything together as "real estate."

An editor of national reputation writes: "What you suggest is something like what we used to call the Single Tax, as a remedy for the evils of these times. For many years I contributed more money than I could afford to the Single Tax Association, helping to keep a lecturer in the field. Apparently the association has gone off the board. I still think there is something to the theory."

Would the way to "perfect freedom" have been obscured for these men, had the philosophy of Henry George been preached, as was the Single Tax, which has come to be widely recognized simply as "another tax idea?" I could quote from a long list of similar expressions.

In this issue, without correction or objection, you quote Dr. Copeland's statement that "The Single Tax is the natural law of taxation." Yet, is not *any* tax, any *form of taxation*—a man-made contrivance for continuing the iniquities which George hated with righteous hatred—a violation of *natural law*?

You comment at length upon Mr. Ingersoll's campaign for governor of New Jersey, in which, however worthy his intentions may be, he stultifies the philosophy of Henry George, by identifying a shifting of twenty-five per cent of taxation of the State to land values, or its reduction by that much, as the Single Tax.

Why adopt the technique of "Taxationists"—a mere shifting, reduction, of taxes—when it is the entire abolishment of taxes that we wish to accomplish; when we have an uncompromising, refutable truth to oppose against them?

I would not deny that some people arrive at a perception of the philosophy of Henry George from thinking upon the "tax that is no tax," but, to the mention of the Single Tax many question: Oh, that's the tax scheme they tried in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., which proved a failure?"

They do not, nor cannot, say that to a direct presentation of the Georgist philosophy, as I conceive it, and as I have repeatedly presented it, for instance:

God made all the land there is—at least, no *man* made it; population as a collective group made all the land *value* there is; and men by their labor made all the wealth there is. Yet, legally, we let individuals claim to own God's earth, we let them appropriate to themselves in rent and selling price, the population's land value. In consequence, we compel the confiscation of individual wealth through taxation, to provide the public improvements and services which that individual enterprise, make all the value any land has; and worse, we let these individuals keep other people off the earth by knowledgeing their claim, by acquiescing in the appropriation, and by submitting to the confiscation.

"How many times must this be said?" Should we not begin boldly to say it, and forego the confusion which the Single Tax creates in the minds of so many?

Eugene, Ore.

W. R. B. WILLCOX.

#### REPLY

This expresses so well the views of many of our friends that we are glad to give it space.

To begin with we think Mr. Wilcox and those who share his views are needlessly concerned as to the embarrassments imposed on us by the name Single Tax.

The name is defective, it is true. But so is every other name so far suggested. The difficulty seems to be inescapable.

It may well be doubted whether it is possible after fifty years to change the name of a movement—of any movement. And any name we can think of requires the same kind and degree of explanation and elaboration that the word Single Tax demands. Its understanding requires an education in a new philosophy of economics, in a new understanding of life, of society and its functions. No name is inclusive enough to confine all it connotes. No label can enumerate all its content. That is the defect of the name Single Tax, but it is the defect of any other name that might be or has been suggested.

So much for the defects of the name—now for its advantages. It is the name we are known by. Quite a large proportion of the people know that the Single Tax is what Henry George proposed in "Progress and Poverty" but which turns out to be no tax at all. On examination they will discover this; to them at least the name after a while will not seem of any great importance.

Then the name has this advantage. It defines the method. It was the name adopted by the French physiocrats for the somewhat analogous system they proposed. Besides it is *single*, entailing the abolition of all other taxes, and on examination will be found not to partake of the character of a tax at all.

But *in form* it is a tax. By the people, for the most part, it will be known as a tax in form. And assuming it to take legislative shape it will be known as "Tax Bill, Number so and so." We do not think that the name creates confusion in the mind once the mind is squarely directed to it. The instances quoted by Mr. Willcox of the somewhat muddled inquiries of his two correspondents are not to be attributed to the name but to something entirely different.

We think it is clear why the followers of Henry George grow impatient with a name that seems to confine their speculations to a tax problem. The implications of his teachings are so far-reaching, so embracing, that the name Single Tax or any other name is wholly inadequate. In the Henry George School under the direction of the late Oscar Geiger the use of the term was infrequent. It was used only when necessary, and it often is necessary.

Can one, after all is said, confine any philosophy to a name? The wise Goethe said that the highest cannot be spoken in words. More truly, a great philosophy cannot be defined in a single term. Democracy, for example, defies definitive interpretation. And an all-inclusive name for any philosophy, including the philosophy of Henry George, seems impossible, or at least is not forthcoming. So we are compelled to use the name that has been thrust upon us. Let us use it only when necessary, and then with caution and reserve, remembering it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

MRS ELIZABETH N. PHILLIPS, of Clarendon, Va., writes: "The current number of LAND AND FREEDOM is the best I have seen. I am preparing to set all things aside soon and devote myself entirely to our cause. I have never been in a better position to do it and the time has never been so ripe for action and results. I am deeply shocked and grieved at the death of Oscar Geiger. But it is very heartening to know of the excellent spirit of determination shown by those associated with the School." Mrs. Phillips, as many of our readers know, is the inventor of "The Landlord's Game" placed on the market several years ago.

THE *Standard* (Single Tax) of Sydney, Australia, tells us that Rev. Dr. Norwood, of London, was a recent guest of the Henry George League of Sydney, and stated in his address that he was without equivocation a believer in the doctrines of Henry George. He had believed in them since boyhood. His address evinced a hopeful outlook for the future and Dr. Norwood has traveled extensively.

WE have received Number 7 of the *New Zealand Commonwealth*,

organ of the Commonwealth Land Party of that country. We congratulate our friends on the brave fight they are making.

MELBOURNE *Progress* (Single Tax) advises us of a dinner that was tendered by the Single Tax League in Sydney. Before the meeting three press reporters asked Dr. Culley for an interview. He suggested that they attend the dinner, and they did, taking copious notes. Not a word of Dr. Culley's address of fifty-five minutes appeared in the press next day!

THE *Jeffersonian Democrat* is an interesting Single Tax paper published in Jackson, Miss., and is full of good things. Its editor is S. B. Meyers, who is a vigorous writer. The paper is urging the campaign of Dr. E. S. Copeland for governor on a Single Tax platform.

GORDON MARTIN, of Stockton, Calif., has won the prize of £10. offered by our London friends for the best essay on "The Moral and Economic Teachings of Henry George." This was the first prize. There were fifty-three in all and the towns and cities in which reside those participating in the prize winning include the countries of South Australia, New South Wales, Ontario, and Saskatchewan. As Mr. Martin is a convert of Mr. Beckwith's we extend our congratulations to teacher and winner.

DR. E. A. COPELAND will be one of the speakers who will address the Henry George Congress at Chicago next month.

C. LEON DE ARYAN, editor of *The Broom* (Single Tax) of San Diego, Calif., is candidate for governor of that state. He is not on the ballot, so those who wish to vote for him will have to write his name in.

*The American Arrow* is another Georgist paper published and edited by Hon P. Frank Morrow, State Senator from Seattle, Wash., and is issued semi-monthly.

GEORGE J. KNAPP, of the *Colorado Tribune* (Single Tax) announces his candidacy for Congress from the city of Denver.

JUDGE A. B. PITTMAN, of Memphis, Tenn., has been defeated after thirty years of service. He went down with colors flying, holding steadfastly to the philosophy of Henry George.

A LETTER from Henry Ware Allen appears in the *New York Herald Tribune* of July 20 in which attention is called to the basic remedy for the ills that beset us.

MILTON M. BERGERMAN, who was a member of the Round Table Club, an organization of boys formed many years ago by Oscar Geiger for the study of economics and civics, has become a member of the law firm of Rosenberg, Goldmark and Cohen of 165 Broadway, this city.

MRS. EMILY E. F. SKEEL writes:

"I have read the last number of LAND AND FREEDOM with an even greater interest than usual. It is astonishing to me how wide a swath you cut and how genial you can make a newspaper that must necessarily criticize and carp at many organizations. The iron hand in the velvet glove is a thing I have always envied."

F. J. TRAPP, of Houston, Texas, a life-long Henry George man and not so long ago a correspondent of this paper, and subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM, at the age of ninety-three and tired of the world, fired a bullet into his brain. The last link that bound him to the world was severed when a few years ago his wife died at the age

of 87. He knew Henry George and was a consistent upholder of his principles. He was a Confederate veteran.

H. A. BATCHELDER, of West Hartford, Conn., renewing his subscription, writes: "Am glad to renew, for when one can get the best edited magazine in the United States for two dollars, opportunity to do so should be avidly seized."

EMIL KNIPS, of Fairhope, Ala., writes us that during a recent visit to Mr. L. O. Bishop, former publisher at Clinton, Ind., and author of the interesting column, "Sharps and Flats," running in the *Fairhope Courier*, he saw a Single Tax paper published years ago in St. Louis which contained a sketch of the life and work of M. Bishop. The Fairhope columnist, whose work should appear more widely, has not lost his enthusiasm for the cause, and his writings are always worth reading.

In the *Christian Leader* for July, organ of the Universalist Fellowship, published at Boston, Mass., Charles R. Eames of Elgin, Ill. has a letter covering an entire page and entitled "Henry George Points the Way." After liberal quotations from that great economist Mr. Eames says:

"If the Universalist ministers would take with them on their vacations, a copy of 'Progress and Poverty,' and give it a careful and unbiased (if possible) reading, they would come back to their pulpits in the late days of summer with a knowledge and an understanding of what ails the body politic that would be to them like a ray of light in a weary and much depressed land."

DR. MARK MILLIKIN, of Hamilton, O., writes:

"I was much pleased to find that you thought enough of my criticism of Prof. Fairchild's article to give the former space in your excellent journal. If fine clothes make fine people, it may follow that a journal such as yours with its unglossed paper, good sized type and general aristocratic get-up may rank with our best. There is no publication coming to me that surpasses yours in appearance. And of course, you know that I think the quality of it is in keeping with its good looks."

It is typical of the influence of the late Oscar Geiger that Mr. Joel Landres, head of the Ace Mailing Service, 140 William Street, this city, volunteers a generous contribution of mimeographing and multigraphing for the Henry George School without charge. Mr. Landres is a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM, but is not yet a convinced Single Taxer, was not a student of the School, and never attended any of the sessions. But he was fond of Oscar, realizing his devotion to a great ideal, and hence this generous offer. We are glad to print this notice with a hint to our readers that they patronize their friends with any work they may have to give out.

OUR subscribers should be introduced to Charles Joseph Smith of Irvington, N. J., who takes the place of Oscar Geiger as treasurer of the Single Tax Publishing Company. Mr. Smith is a student and convert of the School founded by Oscar Geiger. He is a young man, studious and thoughtful, and a welcome addition to the ranks. He is typical of the sort of young men our great friend lifted up to take his place. And there are many more.

THE death of Mrs. Margaret L. Johnson, widow of Tom L. Johnson, occurred early in July of this year at Los Angeles. She was seventy-six years of age, and is survived by her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson Morrison, with whom she lived, and a grand daughter, Mrs. James Clinton, of San Francisco.

E. B. SWINNEY treats the "Land Question" in an admirable letter in the *Los Angeles Evening Post*.

"LAND AND FREEDOM could not be better edited," writes Rev. Quincy Ewing, of Lindsay, Calif.

"Your magazine is a great asset to our movement. I like your attitude on the NRA," writes George M. Strachan, of Chicago.

HON. P. FRANK MORROW, member of the Washington State legislature, would like to hear from all active Single Taxers in the State.

ROBERT L. MCCAIG, of Toledo, O., has a plan of portable houses as a means of hastening the day when the taking of land values for public purposes will be a reality. He feels that it is no idle dream, and he is anxious to know what Henry George men think of it. Its effect on economic rent would be rather interesting since a population that could move out as soon as land speculation sets in suggests a lot of possibilities. Mr. McCaig is in deadly earnest and is always eager to elaborate on his proposal.

GEORGE HUGHES, of Topeka, Kan., writes us: "I have read Henry J. Foley's letter about the value of the term Single Tax. It interested me and while it is not so important it is of importance. For the last ten years I have tried not to use the term. When I started to explain the Single Tax I found myself feeling that I was not getting anywhere. Then came Beckwith. That gave me what was looking for. Now I say 'No Taxes.' This brings the question, 'How are you going to pay for government?' At once then begin on land values and ground rent."

HON. EDWARD POLAK, former Registrar of the Bronx, writes: "It was a most wonderful and just tribute you paid to our dear departed friend Oscar Geiger, and I am sure it will be appreciated by the friends of the movement. Your statement on Father McGlynn is simply splendid and recites part of our history which is best appreciated by those who lived through it."

THOMAS E. DABNEY, editorial writer on the New Orleans *Times*, *Cayenne* and *New Orleans States*, and author of several books, writes: "Thanks for the copy of 'Progress and Poverty.' My present copy is pretty ragged, and I would not give it up for worlds, but the new copy will be fine to lend to the perishing."

A LITTLE pamphlet containing an address on Thomas Jefferson and the solution of our economic ills by Edmund J. Burke, of Boston, has been received. The address was delivered on April 13 before the Jefferson Club of Cambridge, Mass., and is couched in fine and effective English.

WILLIAM MATTHEWS, of Spokane, Wash., in the teaching of his classes avoids the use of the term Single Tax. A recent address at one of his Forum meetings was given by Mrs. Agnes L. Clark who spoke on "The Psychology of Economic Reform." Classes and Forum meetings will be resumed this Fall.

JOHN B. MCGAURAN, of Denver, tells us that there has recently been organized in that city the Georgist Economic League. A circular is issued by the League containing in 200 words a statement of our principles. We are happy to be able to endorse it. Mr. McGauran writes: "Your masterly analysis of the quack remedies and absurd nostrums offered in this time of depression is not only instructive; it is highly entertaining."

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT, of Modesto, Calif., writes:

"One of the depression results on daily papers here is that frequently one farmer subscribes, a neighbor pays half the subscription and calls for the paper two or three times a week. To the extent

this is worked it cuts the subscription list in two, for which the publisher receives the same amount of money. Of course, this is in line with the NRA destruction of part of the crop to make consumers pay more or less."

CORNELIUS D. SCULLY resigned in August as City Solicitor in the new Pittsburgh administration and Ward Bonsall, another active member of the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh, was appointed by Mayor McNair to succeed him as City Solicitor. Mr. Bonsall has been prominent in the movement in Pittsburgh for a number of years and has frequently served in the drafting of bills to extend the local application of the principle of land value taxation.

HENRY A. YOUNG, of Alhambra, Calif., writes us: "On page 114 of your July-August number you list George Creel as a friend of the Single Tax. How can you do so when in an article in the Los Angeles *Illustrated Daily Times* he said that there would be no further increase in the tax on land." Our error, Brother Young. But we cannot be supposed to keep track of all the defections of those once reported as belonging to the fold. He used to be a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM and was accounted a Henry George man. That fiction will have to be abandoned.

FRANK CHODOROV wants to encourage writing and investigating among Henry George advocates, especially the young among them. He suggests the offering of prizes for essays on such subjects as "The Astor Estate," "How the Mesaba Range was Stolen," "Farm Tenantry," "The Land of Staten Island," and so on. No doubt there are many students in the Henry George School who have the desire as well as the ability to do creative work, and would be glad to undertake the writing of these essays if they thought that there was a possibility of their being printed in LAND AND FREEDOM.

"ROOSEVELT Revalued," is the title of a pamphlet by E. C. Rigel, of the Consumers' Guild, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Send ten cents for this and get a lot of entertainment and a good deal of enlightenment in addition.

SENATOR HUGO L. BLACK, of Alabama, has addressed a letter to Mr. Walker, one of the attorneys of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, suggesting the town of Fairhope as worthy to receive loans from the government. He expresses confidence regarding the soundness of the enterprise.

In another column is printed an address by Prof. James H. Dillard made many years ago, "How Caesars Come." It is a significant bit of prophecy. We trust our readers will not overlook it.

At the funeral of Oscar Geiger Mrs. Anna George de Mille, standing beside the casket, placed a sheaf of lillies and said: "I had hoped next season to sit at the feet of this great teacher and hear him expound for me the great truths my father gave to the world."

It is good news that a "Teachers' Manual," prepared with questions and answers by Oscar Geiger, will be in the hands of teachers in the Henry George School. For this work we anticipate a world-wide circulation. It will be ready for attendants at the Henry George Congress in October. We may say that it is one thing to give a copy of "Progress and Poverty" to a person, and quite another thing to guide him through the pages with illustrations to help his understandings of what may not be quite clear to him. How splendidly our teacher, Oscar Geiger, has done his work will be apparent from the fact that two lengthy sessions of the committee having the preparation of the matter in hand for the printer found little to change or correct.

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November—December, 1934

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Henry George Congress

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## NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1934

VOL. XXXIV

No. 6 WHOLE No. 187

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIV

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1934

No. 6

## Comment and Reflection

THE sufficient answer to the architects of economic planning is that natural law has already provided for it. That is to say, in the natural forces governing production and distribution we discover the great natural law of cooperation and competition. Such economic planning as may be legitimately undertaken must take into account these natural forces. It will then be found how little is needed in the way of governmental laws of direction, control or regimentation.

EX-PRESIDENT HOOVER has said: "Government may promote cooperation, but to liberty cooperation is a concept of consent among free men, not a compulsion of regulated men." He is thinking here only of government regimentation and not the kind of regulation—if we may give it that name—imposed by our economic system. Neither Mr. Hoover nor Mr. Roosevelt propose to change that. Mr. Hoover talks of liberty but the kind of liberty he talks about is the regimentation of the wages of the worker by the unemployed man clamoring for work at the factory gates or elsewhere where the opportunities for work seem to beckon.

HOOVER'S thought is purely superficial. He views the depression as a "transitory paralysis." If this is his view it is to be feared that he has gone no further in his analysis than the administration he is criticizing. We have had a number of these "transitory paralytic" attacks—only they are of continuous recurrence. The spasms of an epileptic patient are transitory, but epilepsy is a disease. So there must be some reason for it, some cause of the disease, and Mr. Hoover has made no attempt to discover it. The Roosevelt administration has adopted no remedies for the disease, but Mr. Hoover has suggested no remedy at all. Madame Roland is reported to have said on her way to the guillotine, "Oh, Liberty that crimes are committed in thy name!" So with that liberty in whose name are concealed apologies for tyranny. In the case of Mr. Hoover it is a verbal device to hide realities—perhaps not consciously.

It is pointed out that during the depression 30,000,000 children were attending school and 23,000,000 auto-

mobiles were driving around the country. We do not doubt, that at the time when "great estates were ruining Italy," as Tacitus has told us, the imperial Caesars were able to point to similar signs of "prosperity" in a dying civilization. This is one of the curious tricks the imagination plays us when a purpose is to be served, or shall we say, when privilege is seeking a defense. Under the deceptive cry of "liberty" the Republican party may yet be able to rally a successful opposition to the Roosevelt administration on a purely negative programme. But the victory will be an empty one.

IN these days when natural law in economics and government is set aside it is refreshing to scan a book which a correspondent, George White of Long Branch, N. J., has sent us. It is entitled, "The Science of Government Founded on Natural Law," and was written nearly a hundred years ago, in 1841. The author is Clinton Roosevelt, undoubtedly an ancestor of the president. We quote the opening paragraph which is noteworthy: "I toil and toil and others reap the fruits. Who will show me real good? To whatsoever point I turn my sorrowing regards, naught but misery and the prospect of still greater misery do I witness. Whichsoever party gains the victory, we still bear the burdens of society. In Great Britain also, the land from which our statesmen with an apparent consciousness of mental weakness, copy all their precedents and principles of law and government, it is self-evident, that with the increase of the means of happiness, the great body of producers have the less and less, and if like causes still effect like consequences, so must it be in time with us when our public lands shall all be occupied. Yea, even now, those who produce the most by genius and industry secure the least, while those who seek not to perform that which is truly useful to society, accumulate the most of all the fruits of toil and ingenuity." There is a little after this in the work of Clinton Roosevelt that is fundamental, but the kindly vision that inspires much of what follows, though quaintly and imperfectly expressed, makes significant reading at this time.

WE have received much interesting correspondence from E. W. Nicolaus, of New Zealand, editor of the *Commonweal* and one of the leaders of the Commonwealth Land Party of that country, with Father J. A. Higgins,

who is official interpreter of the Encyclical for New Zealand. This correspondence is so important, revealing as it does a new attitude on the part of a distinguished priest toward our philosophy, that it must be dealt with in a manner befitting its significance. It may have such far-reaching results that what has already occurred must be laid before our readers in detail, supported by other developments which in the next few months may be forthcoming.

## The Henry George Congress

THE Ninth Henry George Congress has met and adjourned. It is time to take stock and ask ourselves if anything really worth while is accomplished by these annual events.

It is delightful of course to meet the old friends. Personally it was a marvelous experience to meet Chas. B. Rogers of Fort Atkinson, Wis., and James C. Fuller of Kansas City, with whom we have corresponded for many years; Mayor McNair, with his breezy personality and his politically inventive mind; John Z. White, splendid veteran of the movement, untouched by the years, eloquent and vigorous as ever; Claude Watson, with his splendid enthusiasm; A. W. Falvey, whose plans of organization (somewhat too elaborate and complex we thought), which had entailed much self-sacrifice in study and deliberation and for which he deserves our thanks.

We have to note, too, the clear rational thinking contributed by Henry Hardinge to the proceedings; the constructive suggestions of Mr. Evans, the radio talks and addresses by Mrs. de Mille, Mr. Hennessy and Clayton J. Ewing at a number of Chicago churches.

These are to be listed on one side of the ledger—how about the other side? The total amount of money paid out by those attending the convention must be close in the neighborhood of \$10,000—perhaps more. What could be done with this money? Say one thousand free scholarships in the Henry George School of Social Science, or a contribution to John Lawrence Monroe, whose work in the formation of local clubs is one of the most valuable of our activities.

What we say is in no sense a criticism of Secretary Williams nor of those responsible for the programme of the conventions. We have to try things. They have done what they thought best under the circumstances. But may be it is now time to retrace our steps, or at least to bring the history of these annual gatherings for the last nine years to a critical examination of their value.

We do not think that the real pleasure experienced in meeting the old friends a sufficient return to justify these annual conferences. What we have to consider is the effect upon the movement, whether the result of the money and effort expended is to advance the cause as a whole. Frankly we are in doubt. We might timidly

advance a counter programme for which we would like consideration, which is the appointment of a Henry George Day and the celebration by local meetings in every city in the United States with appropriate exercise under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation and the Henry George Fellowship. Such nation-wide celebration would, it seems to us, attract attention which would arouse both local and national interest. The day selected for such celebrations might be Labor Day which is near enough to the birthday of Henry George.

We might list as liabilities of the recent annual conference the speech of Clarence Darrow in its possible effect upon strangers who might have attended, the strange pleas for income and inheritance taxes, and other lapses from the true faith and sound economics which could not but have amazed some of the men and women unacquainted with the vagaries of our good friends. At other times we have been compelled to listen to speeches on public ownership, proportional representation, the money question, or what will you have. It seems all so futile and unrelated to the movement for the collection of economic rent and the abolition of taxation. And though there was somewhat less of this than at previous gatherings, less of such side-tracking of the essential truth, we have now grown more conscious of it and less patient with it.

Do we get any appreciable amount of publicity to compensate for the effort and money expended? We do not. The Chicago papers gave us only an item or two. In Memphis we did better because the editors, especially the gracious editor of the *Memphis Press Scimitar*, are liberal and friendly. But John Lawrence Monroe gets more space for a single lecture or interview. Is it not time that we pause and consider?

### THE PROCEEDINGS

MORNING, Oct. 8.—George E. Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation, presiding. Invocation by Rev. Peter Tkash, orthodox Greek pastor from Pittsburgh. Mr. Evans read the chapter on Liberty from "Progress and Poverty" and quoted from Patrick Edward Dove. He reviewed some of the happenings of the year, the work of Single Tax clubs, and the labors of Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh. He paid a tribute to Oscar H. Geiger and Sir. George Fowlds who have passed away. Mr. Clayton J. Ewing spoke on "The Psychology of Success," and Hon. Fred Pease, Mayor of Milk River, a Single Tax town of Alberta, Canada, spoke of events in Western Canada. The appointment of a committee on resolutions followed. Mrs. Anna George de Mille delivered a short talk on Ways and Means. Her address will appear later. Mr. Evans spoke feelingly of Francis W. Maguire who was in the hospital and who has since gone to his reward. Mr. Maguire's work during his illness was carried on with great effectiveness by John C. Rose.

MONDAY, NOON, OCT. 8.—Hon. Peter Witt of Cleveland delivered an eloquent address full of his usual fire.

MONDAY, OCT. 8, 2:15 P. M.—Otto Culman presiding. Mr. Hardinge, of Chicago, read a paper, and Mr. W. B. Foster of Pittsburgh, in the absence of Mayor McNair, who had been called home on official business, told of the progress in that city. A letter of welcome was read from the Mayor of Chicago and Mr. Maurice Welty spoke, his subject being, "A Message for American Youth." Mr. Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, spoke, his subject being, "If Henry George Were Writing Today." Mr. Schwartz of Minneapolis was also heard at this session which concluded with the reading by Victor A. Rule of a paper by Benjamin W. Burger on "The Single Tax in Perspective," Mr. Burger being unable to attend.

MONDAY, OCT. 8, 8 P. M.—Public meeting, Joseph Dana Miller presiding. Speakers, Clarence Darrow, Hon. Peter Witt, Victor A. Rule, and Hon. Abe D. Waldauer.

TUESDAY, MORNING, OCT. 9.—Henry L. T. Tideman presiding. Miss Antoinette Kaufmann talked on the work of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. To this Hon. Chas. O'Connor Hennessy added a few words. Miss Kaufmann's report of these activities will be found elsewhere in this issue. Dr. Millikin of Hamilton, O., has heard, his subject being "A Biologist Looks at the Single Tax."

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 1:30 P. M.—A meeting to consider the report of A. J. Falvey, he being chairman of committee on organization. The sense of those present seemed to be that a loose form of organization was best adapted to our requirements.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 2:15 P. M.—Chairman Ewing presiding. Speakers were Frank Chodorov who spoke on the Henry George School and Walter Fairchild who read of Land Values of New York in Application to the City Budget. The committee on resolutions met at five o'clock to consider their presentation to the main body on the following day.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 8 P. M.—Banquet. The dinner was well attended, George E. Evans presiding. Rev. Chas. F. Kegley of Chicago made the invocation and Miss Antoinette Thorn, soloist of the St. James Episcopal Church, gave vocal selections. Speakers were Walter E. Demmler, Pittsburgh, Hon. Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, Hon. Marvin C. Harrison, State Senator from Cleveland, and Andrew P. Canning of Chicago. Mr. Hennessy spoke of conditions in Great Britain and made a plea for the Henry George School and the proposed Henry George Fellowship. Mr. George M. Strachan paid a feeling tribute to the late Oscar H. Geiger and Sir George Fowlds.

OCT. 10, MORNING.—August Villeges, presiding. Dr. Chas. J. Lavery, of Aberdeen, S.D., read the paper which appears elsewhere in this issue. Claude Watson, J. Edward Jones, Wiley Mills, and Fiske Warren spoke at this session.

OCT. 10, NOON, LUNCHEON.—The time was occupied by a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Henry George Foundation. Secretary Williams reported on receipts and disbursements. Resignation of F. C. Leubuscher was received and accepted with regrets. Mr. Foster of Pittsburgh and Mr. Fiske Warren were elected trustees. Messrs. Rule, Schwartz, Fuller and Copeland were elected members of the Advisory Board. At the conclusion the present officers of the Foundation were reelected.

OCT. 10, 2:15 P. M.—Clayton J. Ewing presiding. George M. Strachan spoke, his subject being "Worshipping False Gods." Homer Hoyt, author of "One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago," reviewed by Chas. O'Connor Hennessy in September-October number of LAND AND FREEDOM, gave a short but interesting address and exhibited maps illustrative of the growth of Chicago. He also answered questions. That great veteran of the movement John Z. White talked for nearly an hour, speaking with a full resonant voice and apparently in as fine a physical condition as he has ever been. Dr. Freyermuth of South Bend, Ind., read a letter from Senator Borah of Idaho, in which the Senator voiced his beliefs in the principles of Henry George.

OCT. 10, 8 P. M.—Claude Watson presiding. This, the final session of the conference, heard Mr. Moir of the Milk River delegation, Mrs. Squires, J. Edward Jones, H. L. Tideman. Mr. Macauley read a letter from Jackson H. Ralston on the California situation. With a final eloquent farewell message from Claude Watson, chairman, the Ninth Annual Convention of the Henry George Congress came to an end.

The rest of the evening was spent in social interchange with those who remained. The accident to John Lawrence Monroe was commented on with keen regret. The presence of J. C. Lincoln on the last day gave us an opportunity of meeting this devoted friend of the movement. Mrs. Christine Ross Barker, whom many New Yorkers will remember, came from Toronto accompanied by her daughter Mary.

Henry George Day was the occasion on Thursday of a meeting at the World's Fair of a small audience at which Mrs. Anna George de Mille and Andrew P. Canning were among the speakers.

**S**OONER or later we are going to learn that no nation can borrow itself rich, nor can it TAX itself into prosperity.—Los Angeles *Post Record*.

**T**HE streamline train has arrived, following the streamline airplanes, automobiles and vessels.

But the Ship of State is still planned after the manner of the box car, the ox cart and the jinriksha, as evidenced by our antiquated revenue laws, vicious penal laws and inadequate relief measures.

JOHN EGAN in *World Telegram*.

# The California Campaign

LETTER READ AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

IT was suggested to me some time ago that I should take part in a discussion at the Henry George Congress as to the practical ways of advancing the reform to which we are devoted. For various reasons it is impossible for me, as I have heretofore stated, to attend and take part in the deliberations. As such substitute for personal presence as it may be, I write this communication with the hope that it may be submitted to the Congress.

Let me first discuss the present situation of the largest attempt to further our general desires in the political field—the effort now going on in the State of California. The proposition which has been advanced in this State contemplates, as you know, the immediate constitutional abolition of recent sales taxes and their prohibition for the future. Further, it calls for the exemption at once of \$1,000 in assessed value of improvements on homesteads, and successively over a course of five years, the annual abolition of twenty per cent of taxation upon remaining improvements and tangible personal property. At the end of this period, for city and county purposes, and so far as the State may make a direct levy upon them, there will be no taxation whatever on improvements and tangible personal property, but all such taxation will be transferred to land values.

The importance of the proposition will be manifest when one reflects that it will affect the industrial and social life of between six and seven millions of people, and will cover a greater extent of territory if adopted than has heretofore been effected by any general measure at all similar. Furthermore, as the rate of taxation in California is high as compared with other jurisdictions where like exemptions prevail the economic effects of the adoption of the measure will be correspondingly greater. In a general way, the proposed measure, once put into play, will not go far from fifty per cent as far as needed for the complete attainment of our ideal.

The first step taken in the campaign in favor of this amendment was the unanimous adoption in September, 1933, by the California State Federation of Labor of a resolution furthering the plan. This was followed by its endorsement by the Single Taxers of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco; then later by the approval by the Attorney General of a suitable title to be used in placing the proposition upon petitions for a statewide initiative.

A large number of people in Single Tax organizations and trade unions, as well as paid canvassers, worked to secure the number necessary to place the proposition upon the ballot this fall, the number being 110,911, and the time limit for this year being August 7. As it was, we fell short of the number by 1,599. Since August we have added enough verified signatures to give us 2,625 overplus. The result is that while the proposition will not be voted upon this fall, under the California constitution it will go before the voters at the latest two years from now, or before, if the Governor shall so designate, at a special election. We have therefore a period of education in the State which may run from six months to two years.

It is impossible to give credit to all persons concerned in bringing about this result, but particularly I am justified in mentioning the labors of George M. Patterson of Los Angeles, E. M. Stangland of San Diego, J. W. Southwick of Stockton and S. Edward Williams of San Francisco, who have given unstintingly of their time and energy.

At the present time we are making such effort as seems possible in the way of letter-writing and speaking before organizations in order to further the success of the movement. We have, however, spent very appreciable sums in the gathering together of the names referred to, and are now practically entirely without means.

Laying aside for the time being the matter of furthering the campaign, I may say that in the newspapers of California our principles are becoming the subject of discussion. In the political field we may believe that we have helped in the making of real progress. For the first time in the history of major political parties of this country,

the State Democratic platform recognizes the existence of a land question to be dealt with through taxation. Despite association with other planks sometimes somewhat incongruous and vague, the Democratic Convention at Sacramento ten days ago accepted without question the following statement:

"Large land holdings held out of use for speculative purposes constitute a means of exploitation of an increasing population and of future generations. Such holdings should be made to yield a fair tax to the State. Also our natural resources of wealth, which have heretofore escaped their just proportion of taxation, must be recognized as natural sources of State revenue and to be made to bear their just proportion of taxes for that purpose."

Our campaign may well have had its influence in bringing about the insertion of this particular plank, the more so as Upton Sinclair and Sheridan Downey, the Democratic candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor respectively, and George Creel, the defeated candidate for nomination, took more or less part in the formation of the platform and were all of them approvingly cognizant of our efforts.

In a practical way, what can be done in other States? Each State presents, in my judgment, its particular problems as to action, which problem will require careful study. In some States it is relatively easy to present our ideas to the people. I pointed out, over three years ago, in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, that the two choice States for that purpose were Massachusetts and Michigan, and after them, California. The reason then given for their designation holds good today. In those States, resort to the initiative is relatively easy. In addition their situation as to density of population makes the problem of campaigning simple, and their large manufacturing populations offer possibilities of sympathetic appeal.

It will occur to many, and with apparent force, that progress in particular States is impossible because of the smallness of known Single Taxers and their poverty of resources. This is very true, but not as important as on the face would appear. A much more important factor is the intensity with which people believe, and the individual sacrifices they are willing to make, in order to accomplish their beliefs. In a general way I would say that twenty earnest determined and thoroughly self-sacrificing men and women can inaugurate a campaign in any except the largest States—at least where the initiative and referendum exists—and with fair prospects of success.

A trouble with the Single Taxers has been that they have not realized their own potentialities of success. They have overlooked the fact entirely that the vast majority of the voters belong to the dispossessed classes, and are ready to listen to those who can point out to them how they can come into their own. Let me illustrate this point by the ease and readiness with which all labor organizations have welcomed our proposition, from the time when the Central Labor Union of New York named Henry George as a candidate for Mayor forty-seven years ago, down to the last local or Central Labor Union which has unanimously endorsed our proposition in the State of California.

Of course, we must not make the mistake of expecting too much from labor unions—a mistake which many of our brethren make when they reproach them for want of action. The labor unions, as bodies, stand ready to give the backing of their moral influence and their votes at the polls, certainly to the extent of nine-tenths of the numbers. Except as individuals may act, they will not in any considerable degree give money or systematic labor. This condition extends, I am sorry to say, not alone to the trade unions, but to the regular bodies of avowed believers in the Single Tax. They accept their doctrine in a casual way, without being disposed to sacrifice money or time in any unusual degree to advance their cause. I do not wish to say this in any censorious or captious fashion; it is probably the usual condition of affairs that few people feel deeply any call to which they profess allegiance. If this is true as to churches—a

we know it is—we need not expect anything else from those who advocate an unusual doctrine.

Purely therefore by way of illustration, and not by way of censure, I may say that not twenty people in the United States, outside of California, have given any visible signs of interest in our California contest, and by this I mean contributing money, or expressions of sympathy, or offers of help. As a matter of fact, it may well be the case that the first fervors of adhesion to the cause have been burned out in the passage of years. Among those who forty years ago were concerned in the Delaware fight and who still remain alive, we in California have heard from but one.

Referring, however, to what I was saying shortly above, when the test comes the Single Taxer who is honest with himself will have to confess that he has little more ground of complaint to the action of trade unions than he has to the usual action of those who, being better informed, should be more in earnest. May I give a quotation I heard when a boy, made by Tom Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown of Rugby," "Woe to the faint heart or the feeble knees of the man who boketh two ways."

I am sometimes reminded of the scriptural paragraph which tells of a certain man who made a great supper and bade many, and they all with one consent began to make excuses: "I have bought a piece of ground and I must go and see it." "I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them;" "I have married a wife and therefore cannot come." Now some may say, "You have striven to do so much at a time," or "too little;" or, "I would have phrased the matter differently;" or, "Fifteen years ago we disagreed about something;" or "It is useless and ridiculous to think that we can succeed against exceeding odds, and any money we give will be thrown away;" or—but the excuses for not working are innumerable.

They are also, I regret to say, those who will appeal to a slogan,— "Do not follow the step-by-step method." To them I have only to say that if our principles are as fundamental as we believe them to be, there are but two methods of bringing them into play; one is, step-by-step—here a little and there a little; and the other is revolution. The latter none of us want, and when we speak of the former, let us not overlook the fact that only step-by-step do we progress along the street to our given aim, or learn a language, or acquire a profession, or accomplish any reform that is at all worth while—a comparatively recent illustration being Woman's Suffrage. In fact, the step proposed is, as I have before indicated, a very long one.

If we are to accomplish our reform which is of a political nature, it must be done through using the instrumentalities of politics, and as soon as possible. For my part, I believe that we have delayed much longer than is necessary, meanwhile erring through presenting ill-conceived measures in some cases, and in others through attempting the formation of an independent political party. It is not my purpose, however, to pursue this line of thought, but to call attention to another essential thing.

We have held up the Single Tax to view from every point and in every colored light. We have dissected it to the bone. We have thought that none who did not do the same could be among the elect. And we have to no small extent forgotten that this country does not operate in an atmosphere of superculture, but it is a democracy and largely ruled by the feelings and intelligence of what we call the common man. Therefore, it could not be necessary that the progress of the Single Tax should be halted until the last man in the country has taught nuances familiar to us.

Let us remember that the appeal to the man in the street can be made in simple and understandable language. He will readily understand that there are but two sorts of values—those created by the individual and those created by the community; that in the name of justice no part of the first values can be taken by the State and in the same name as much as the State needs may be taken of the value the community has originated. This simple lesson can be mastered by the most uncultured, and he can be made to realize that certainly the most of the evils of society proceed from its non-recognition.

Approaching the problem from the point of view just advanced, it will be the fortune of any speaker to make converts of the majority of any meeting he may address, the hearers not finding their benefits in land speculation. Our political advancement may not need to be halted any longer on any idea that dilettante discussions are necessary to precede it and convince the majority before we join battle.

Remember that the vast majority of men are not interested in theoretical discussions relating to some unknown time in the future. They are interested in what may happen in the immediate present.

Meanwhile we may take such solace as we can in the fact that Henry George said of the truth, "It will find friends—those who will battle for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of truth."

We of California have exhausted ourselves in getting the measure upon the ballot. For the making of the campaign the next six months or two years, as the case may be, we have scarcely any funds. We feel we have a right to ask those of kindred belief throughout the country to help us, for in helping us they will be helping themselves. We therefore with confidence appeal to the Single Taxers of this country to give of their means, even until it hurts, to help on a campaign the labors of which we stand ready to undertake.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## Resolutions Adopted by Henry George Congress

### IN SUPPORT OF THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL

Whereas, it appears to this Congress that the grievous social and economic ills of our country at this time, as in the past, and the recurrence of periods that impose vast suffering and misery upon the American people through recurrent business depressions and unemployment, are the result of causes first clearly delineated more than fifty years ago by Henry George in his great book "Progress and Poverty," and

Whereas, it is a fact becoming more widely recognized that Henry George's delineation of these causes, and his proposals for their removal constitute a convincing and unanswerable revelation of economic truth, and,

Whereas, it seems to us that the absence of a more general recognition of the root causes of business depressions and unemployment in a land of plenty and a failure to apply the simple but certain remedies proposed by Henry George, is the greatest tragedy of political life in these days, therefore be it

Resolved, that it is our deliberate judgment that the most vital public need of our times is the work of sound economic education, according to Henry George, and further

Resolved, that we commend the movement already formed in New York for the extension throughout the land of the Henry George Fellowship, an educational fraternity, having no political aims, but aiming solely at uniting men and women everywhere in a comradeship devoted to spreading the knowledge of the vital significance to human welfare of the philosophy and economic teachings of Henry George, and further,

Resolved, that we heartily endorse the programme sponsored by the founders of the Fellowship to extend its educational work throughout the United States by the organization of groups in all population centers in the country who will apply the teaching methods that have proven so effective in the Henry George School of Social Science, in sending out into the world earnest men and women equipped for leadership in good citizenship by a sound education in fundamental economics.

### THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAMME AND CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

Resolved, that the Henry George Congress regards as ethically and economically unsound those policies of the Federal Government aimed at the curtailment or destruction of the products of the farm or other forms of wealth; and further

Resolved, that we condemn the payment to landlords of large sums of public money for withdrawing land from cultivation, and thus lessening opportunities for employment, while increasing the cost of living to the masses of our people.

Resolved, that we petition the Congress of the United States to levy an annual tax of one per cent for Federal purposes on all land values throughout the entire jurisdiction of said Congress.

Whereas, the Amendment to the Constitution of California formulated by Judge Jackson H. Ralston, to be voted on at an approaching election, meets with the approval of this Convention: Therefore be it

Resolved, that this Convention hereby extends its sincere sympathy and support to our comrades in California, and invites the Georgists of other States who favor political action to assist according to their ability.

#### ECONOMIC PLANNING

In this serious time of planning and effort for liberty, security, and advancement, we reaffirm our faith in the rights of the individual to self-employment and self-development and self-regulation on the land resources, whether rural or urban.

We favor a more localized exercise of political power—and that the States, counties and municipalities shall more fully exercise and develop their powers of settling intelligently their local problems of a public character, rather than of surrendering these powers to a more and more distant and centralized authority.

We favor the fullest development of *voluntary* cooperation in productive effort and cultural accomplishment.

We protest against the crushing burden of taxation now resting with destructive force upon the home owners, farmers, manufacturers, business men and laboring men; in short upon all forms of productive enterprise.

We protest against these intolerable tax burdens now pressing down with such force upon all branches of legitimate industry—both upon producer and consumer.

We favor a more truly liberal and enlightened policy whereby there shall be in this nation a far greater freedom and opportunity to produce wealth—and an opportunity for those who so produce it to enjoy the fruits of their production—and an untrammelled opportunity to exchange. These elements of freedom are vital and essential (as we view it) to a preservation of our civilization or to further desirable extension or development of same.

We favor a far greater production of wealth than we have ever before known and an equitable arrangement whereby this enhanced wealth may be more broadly enjoyed among the producers.

In thus reaffirming these statements, we call attention to the developments of the past year which have proved the correctness of our affirmations.

#### FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

We, the members of the Henry George Foundation of America in Congress assembled, declare

The adoption of the Single Tax is the only means of preventing government by socialism, communism, or a form of government in which the individual becomes the servant of the State in place of the State the servant of the individual,

To attain freedom, justice, abolish unemployment and retain our democracy, we offer the economic philosophy of Henry George, otherwise known as the Single Tax.

Natural resources, land and water rights, acquired through forfeiture, foreclosure or purchase by any administration, national, State or local, if not held as communal should not be surrendered in fee simple but should be retained and let upon leases whose value is regularly assessed and collected as public revenue, thus placing all reclamation, homesteading and subsistence homesteads under the enclavial system.

#### IN MEMORY OF THE DEPARTED

Whereas, there have passed from us since our last meeting together fellow workers, able, devoted and deeply loved, notable among them Oscar Geiger, George Fowlds, Chester Platt, Stoughton Cooley, and Fred C. Bahni

Resolved, that this grievous loss leaves upon us who remain a even heavier responsibility for devoting our lives to carrying on the all important work we have in common, shown to us by Henry George and even more needed now than when he led us in human form as he still leads us in spirit.

Other short resolutions were adopted endorsing the Henry George School of Social Science, the Henry George Fellowship, as well as resolutions of sympathy for Francis W. Maguire (since deceased) and for John Lawrence Monroe who met with a serious accident that prevented him from attending the Conference.

## An Important Point

**B**ENJAMIN W. BURGER has written the following letter to Senator Copeland:

Dear Senator:

In yesterday's *New York Times* you are quoted:

"When only fifteen per cent of a person's blood is in circulation he is in a coma and close to death," he continued. "Until the New Deal came into existence business was in a state of coma and has been since 1929, when the panic started. Just as a person's health improves when his circulation increases, so it is with business. Now that the flow of bank credit is increasing from a mere fifteen per cent to a more normal figure, business is increasing. The coma is lifting, and after the November elections the nation will soon be on the rapid progress to recovery."

Your statement reveals why the Roosevelt measures must fail. I am not a physician but the fallacy of your statement is obvious to me.

When the conditions under which a person lives become more favorable his health improves *and his circulation increases*. One of the results of living amidst better conditions is improved blood circulation, which clearly, is an effect, not a cause.

To attempt, artificially, to increase blood circulation, while ignoring the conditions which produce health, must prove ineffectual. Likewise, when business is active, bank credit increases.

To attempt to increase bank credit, as this Administration is doing without changing the conditions that cause bad business must result in failure. Business is bad, and must remain bad, so long as it is taxed to death.

Until the people collect their full ground rent for their community needs, and abolish taxation, so long must industry lag.

To extend bank credit as a means to stimulate business, or increase the blood circulation to create health, is analogous to lighting a fire under a thermometer as the means to increase the temperature of a cold room.

Warm the room and the thermometer will take care of itself.

## Rent-Producing Machines

**I**T is plain that if a man does not own any land he must live upon the land of another, and he must, directly or indirectly, pay to him that owns it a premium or rent for permission to be there. This is the condition of the vast majority of the people in England, and everywhere, man, woman or child in the community, who has no share in property in land, is—whether conscious of it or not—as much a rent-producing machine for the benefit of the landowners as the cattle that browse in the fields.—JUDGE ARTHUR O'CONNOR, K.C.

# The Henry George School

ADDRESS OF FRANK CHODOROV AT  
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WE who have studied the Single Tax and are satisfied that it is a fundamental truth, based upon justice and fortified by logic, are inclined to believe that therefore this great truth must somehow and at some time prevail. This is an erroneous belief, arising from a fond hope rather than a reasoned conviction.

There is nothing inevitable in an idea. No matter how fundamental a concept might be, it lives only in the minds of men. It dies with them. The transmission of ideas from one generation to another is the result of education, not procreation, and unless this process of education is continuous there is no reason to believe that any truth, no matter how cogent or how intrinsic, will survive.

Nay, error seems to have more vitality than truth, and, like witchgrass in a garden, not only outlives but often crushes it. Twenty centuries of organized teaching of Jesus' ethical precepts have brought them no nearer reality than when first pronounced; in fact, a veritable law of the jungle seems to have completely obliterated the beautiful concept of the Brotherhood of Man. In the field of political economy, instead of the perfectly ordered and truly pragmatic philosophy of Henry George, the world is accepting and putting into practice the impossible, crazily-conceived and soul-destructive notions of Karl Marx. If it is true that "the truth will prevail"—a compensatory shibboleth for those who are too lazy to make it prevail—then it follows that socialism must be true and the Single Tax false, since we find that socialism is being written into the fundamental laws of all nations, including our own, while the principles of economic freedom and human progress find acceptance only in esoteric and inconsequential groups.

The truth does not of itself prevail. To make it prevail, it must be iterated and reiterated, honestly, fiercely and intelligently; it must be constantly sown in the minds of men by every known method of propaganda, and the sowing and re-seeding of that truth must be accompanied by just as careful and continuous plucking of the weeds of error. It is, I believe, because we have not been as diligent in this process as we should have been, that the great truth we so fervently believe in has been submerged in a sea of socialistic falsehood.

The truth may be lost, forgotten for long, long years. As I said, ideas live only in the minds of men, and when in the natural order of things the men pass on, their ideas pass on with them. We know that the effect of the private ownership of land was known to Moses, to the Gracchi brothers, to Spinoza, to Thomas Jefferson, and to many others. Each in his time called the attention of his contemporaries to the inequity of this system; and each

passed on. Even though Henry George gave to the land question the most complete and most convincing expression, what warrant have we that even his treatment of it may not be obliterated by the destructive hands of communism and fascism which are crushing thought throughout the world?

For seventeen years I have been engaged more or less actively in the Single Tax movement. I have attended many Single Tax gatherings. Do you know what impressed me most when I first went to the meetings? It was the fact that the active workers in the movement were mainly old men and women, and I wondered whether I, a young man, had any business with a movement so dominated. Many of these valiant workers have passed on and I am rapidly approaching the same period of old age. As I look about this audience I notice that the average age of this group must be, if you will pardon my frankness, about the half century mark. In the parlance of the insurance actuary, our period of expectancy is probably not over twenty years—a very, very short time.

Unless we start making converts to our cause, and start very quickly, we can look forward to the gradual attrition of our movement, and to the relegation of the philosophy of Henry George to the dust-covered dullness of seminary study. Unless we do this at once we can look forward to the Single Tax becoming within twenty years merely a subject for research workers to comment upon as an oddity of the 19th Century.

It was with some such apprehension that our late, beloved Oscar Geiger started two years ago a school—the Henry George School of Social Science. He started it entirely with his own meagre resources. He was advised by sincere friends to delay this venture because of the almost insurmountable financial difficulties he would encounter. But he could not delay. He knew, as he told me, that his years were numbered, that the need for the work was great, and with a faith born of supreme love he undertook his task of creating Single Taxers through the orderly process of education, thorough education. But the task was too great for his frail body. In two years he laid the groundwork for one of the most necessary steps in our movement, and he did it by taxing his strength to the limit, by depriving himself of necessary relaxation, by living frugally. He died a martyr to our movement.

Geiger is gone. But even in his going he helped the Single Tax cause, for many of us who were not as helpful as we might have been during the two years he slaved for our School, (and a number of his students) have been inspired by the memory of his martyrdom to carry on the work he started. Enough money has been subscribed to enable the School to conduct its work for the ensuing term. We have been fortunate in being able to secure the services of a very excellent director, Mr. Norman C. B. Fowles, who combines with his thorough

knowledge of the philosophy of Henry George a keenly analytical mind, a power of persuasion arising from deep sincerity, and a thorough business training that augurs well for the orderly progress of the institution. Mr. Fowles will be assisted in his work by a group of ardent workers, who, it is interesting to note, are mainly young graduates of the School who have been inspired by the teachings of our great prophet.

The second year of Oscar Geiger's work saw the School firmly established in a home of its own—in a presentable, centrally located New York building, with classroom, library, office—all the appurtenances of a regular institution. More important than its physical progress was the fact that the Board of Regents of the State of New York had recognized the School by granting it a temporary charter—which will become permanent if, within the next three years, enough support is given the institution and enough students attend its courses to assure its permanency. This recognition of the Board of Regents is quite important. It is the first time, I believe, that any governmental educational body has given its stamp of approval to the teachings of Henry George—the first time that "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade" and the "Science of Political Economy" have been used as text books in any recognized school in this country. This recognition in New York carries with it a very significant corollary, for teachers in the elementary and high schools in that State are entitled for their attendance at our School to receive "certificates of alertness."

This certificate of alertness is issued only by recognized institutions of learning. It is accepted by the State Board of Regents as an evidence of the teacher's desire to improve herself or himself culturally, and is taken into consideration when this teacher applies for advancement. A knowledge, therefore, of Henry George has a very real, intrinsic value to every New York school teacher. Do you realize how important this is to our movement? We are able to appeal to these teachers to study our philosophy not only because of its great message of human freedom, but also because a knowledge of it will help them in a material way. What finer body could we add to our cause than these men and women who are moulding the minds of the coming generation? While the school work must of necessity be purely educational, without propaganda, I defy anyone to teach "Progress and Poverty" without emphasizing the great change in our social order that must follow the institution of the Single Tax, and I defy anyone who has studied this book to avoid telling others about it. There are 36,000 school teachers in the City of New York. What a wonderful field for us to work on!

The school year is divided into two parts. Part One consists of a study of "Progress and Poverty" and of "Protection or Free Trade." The text books for Part Two are "The Science of Political Economy" and Prof.

Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George," which is, by the way, the greatest contribution to our literature since Henry George. There are fifteen lessons of two hours each in both parts, making a total of sixty attendance hours. The class room work is, of course, accompanied by home study of at least equal duration. Oscar Geiger left us a detailed teacher's manual, consisting of a series of questions covering every chapter in "Progress and Poverty." These questions the students are required to answer in class, and discussion among the students then ensues. Can you imagine any more thorough method of making converts to our movement? The graduates of this School not only know Single Tax, they are prepared to teach it.

The extra-curricular work of the School consists of monthly forums held in a public hall. As a rule these gatherings are addressed by one of the old guard, but some of the students last year were sufficiently advanced to be able to make speeches of their own; they always engage in the discussions following the main address. Also on Saturday afternoons the School conducts a young folks' discussion group—mainly high school and college students who foregather to discuss topics of the day. While the director helps to keep these youngsters in line economically, they do most of the talking. There are boys and girls in this free-for-all from sixteen years of age to about twenty-one—and it would do your hearts good to hear them talk Single Tax. Tea is served.

The School also conducts a correspondence course. It is significant that one of Geiger's graduates, now a senior at Columbia University majoring in Economics, has been placed in charge of this department by the new director. This course, covering only "Progress and Poverty" so far, was taken by about fifty students last year. I have been studying and reading "Progress and Poverty" for the past twenty years, and I really thought I was thoroughly versed in the subject, until I received from Geiger last year the printed questions which the correspondence students are required to answer. I must confess that there were a number of questions which I could not answer without making reference to the text book. I do not believe there is one in this assemblage who could answer all the questions propounded in this course without doing likewise. Try it. Send for the correspondence course and you will discover how much of "Progress and Poverty" you have forgotten—and you will realize, moreover, how thoroughly grounded in Single Tax are those who take the course. The correspondence course is not divided into terms; it is a continuous performance.

Last year, which was really the first completely organized year for the School, eighty-one students enrolled in Part One. Every one of these students paid ten dollars for the course. More than half of these took Part Two, which also carries a ten dollar fee. Text books are furnished by the School. The majority of those enrolled

were public school teachers, but there were also business men, lawyers, college students, a journalist and others.

At the completion of the first school year a commencement dinner was held, which was attended by one hundred and fifty-one persons. That the School, which is conducted purely as an educational institution, where knowledge rather than propaganda is emphasized, really produces Single Taxers, was shown by the fact that the graduates organized themselves into a students' council for the purpose of increasing attendance at the School, raising funds for this purpose, and for considering ways and means for advancing a knowledge of the Henry George philosophy. I will refer to this work again later. There are no Single Taxers in this room more ardent than those who have taken the course at the School.

(Here follows a summary of the enrollment for this year's course:)

#### STATEMENT OF DIRECTOR N. C. B. FOWLES

We are about to enter our third week of class work at the Henry George School of Social Science. We have nearly 140 young people enrolled in our classes and are hoping to tax our maximum capacity at an early date. Of this 140 there are less than five who have ever had real contact with the writings of Henry George. These young people are as fine a lot of young people as the most meticulous Single Taxer could possibly desire. Eager, energetic and anxious to learn that ails the world and to do their part in producing order out of chaos if it is left to them.

There are twenty-two teachers from the New York City Educational System here to gain "Alertness Credits;" sixteen of the more capable students from Universities and High Schools in this vicinity; twenty-six from business offices comprising executives, secretaries, stenographers and clerks; thirteen from the professions exclusive of teachers. The balance consists of salesmen, housewives, tradesmen, etc. There are five young clergymen enrolled. Surely groups such as these are what we need.

The classes are conducted by such representative believers in Henry George as Stephen Bell, Otto K. Dorn, Walter Fairchild, Will Lissner and the Director. Mr. Lissner took both courses under the late Oscar H. Geiger last year and is conducting Part Two this term. He is a young man and a staff writer on the *New York Times*.

All of the instructors came forward without personal consideration to do their part in serving the School—moved by the knowledge that at last a practical plan had been developed of securing the necessary new blood in our movement to carry George's proposals into all walks of life.

Thirty-seven of the students now enrolled came to us through former students now members of the Student-Alumni Council—an evidence of how the School can be made to perpetuate itself, that should justify much to those who "care."

An evidence of the splendid inspiration of the late Oscar H. Geiger is exemplified in the person of William W. Moore, a young Columbia student who, after taking the course under Mr. Geiger last year, handles the Correspondence Courses in connection with the Henry George School of Social Science. Much more could be said about all this but enough has been told to indicate that our late founder at last hit upon a most effective plan whereby we, whose hair has grown gray in this movement, can enlist the energies and intelligence of our young people in the "Great Solution" which George and Geiger both gave their lives to advance.

This School, a memorial to the genius of its founder, affords a plan whereby a constant stream of our young people may pass through our class rooms, receiving in their passage a thorough knowledge of our great philosophy and take their place in a con-

stantly growing Student-Alumni Council to insist upon Reason and Justice as necessary view-points in the economic councils of men.

And now, let me ask a pertinent question. Why are we gathered here? Why have we come from all parts of the country to attend this conference? Surely not from selfish motives, nor even for a desire to meet other Single Taxers for mere social intercourse. We come to these gatherings because we hope that out of them somehow a practical programme for the advancement of our cause will be discovered and put into practice. We want the Single Tax. But we know that until there is a substantial number of people in this country who are of the same conviction as we are, the hope of enacting this fundamental change in our laws can hardly be thought of. In other words, the first requirement of a successful Single Tax movement is—more Single Taxers—many, many more than we have now.

I dare say that every one in this room became converted to this cause after reading "Progress and Poverty." You may have been influenced to read the book by some friend, or by hearing someone talk on Single Tax. But you really were not a full-fledged convert until after you had read the book. Now then, if that is how you became one of the elect, it would seem to me that the one method of proselyting which should suggest itself to you most readily would be any scheme whereby others would be brought to study the book. No matter what form our movement eventually takes, right now the practical thing to do is to make more converts to our cause by teaching the gospel at the fountain head where all of us have studied. And there is no more direct and thorough method of doing this than by the school method as evolved by Oscar Geiger.

Schools should be started everywhere in the country. They need not be pretentious affairs such as the one in New York. Everybody in this room can start a school in his or her living room. One New York business man conducts a class in his office at night; he has eighteen students this fall, mostly business associates. If every Single Taxer here were to make it his or her task to teach "Progress and Poverty" to a half dozen people once a week, beginning next month, just as it is done in the Henry George School, do you realize that by February 1, we should have several thousand more Single Taxers? What a lot of pleasure it would be to every one of us to do this! What satisfaction it would give us to know that we have done a bit of really constructive work?

The School has prepared a Teachers' Manual for just this work. It consists of a series of questions on each chapter of "Progress and Poverty" which your pupils must be prepared to answer. It also gives suggestions on how to conduct classes and to direct discussions. The School will have this manual ready for distribution very shortly. It will be sent on receipt of one dollar, which barely covers the cost of production. The trustees of the

School hope that a thousand classes will be started in all parts of the country this fall, and have optimistically ordered that many manuals.

I mentioned the fact that the graduates have organized themselves into a Students Council for the purpose of increasing attendance at the School. Their first step was to found an Oscar Geiger Memorial—which consists of a fund of money to be used only to buy scholarships for those who desire to take the course but are unable to pay the tuition fee. Already two thousand dollars have been subscribed to this fund, which means that two hundred will thereby be enabled to take the course. Scholarships have been extended to unemployed school teachers who are anxious to secure certificates of alertness for later advancement, to social service workers, to college students and others. A Thursday night class of business men has been augmented by the use of scholarships on the assumption that these business men will pay for their tuition after they have attended the classes and have learned that our method is the only sane, logical, practical one for the solution of the problems of business.

The School Council has requested me to ask you to subscribe to the Oscar Geiger Memorial so that more scholarships can be given, more converts to the Single Tax cause made. It is the hope of the Council that one thousand students can be enrolled in the class starting after the Christmas holidays. If that hope is realized, it is evident that a body of Single Taxers will have been created by graduation time next May that will be a sufficient guarantee for the continued operation of the School without any necessary appeal to old time Single Taxers—to say nothing of securing a permanent charter from the New York State Board of Regents. If the School can teach the Single Tax to one thousand men and women each term, it is quite evident that within a few years there will be enough Single Taxers in the City of New York to make possible a really effective campaign for the enactment of the Single Tax.

Many of you will remember the campaign conducted during the war to secure adoption of French and Belgian orphans by Americans. The foster-parents and the foster-children rarely ever met, of course, but correspondence between them was encouraged. Now, the School Council comes to you with a request that you adopt a Single Tax orphan—somebody in the vicinity of the School to whom a scholarship can be offered. If you know someone in New York to whom you desire to offer the course, that person shall be told of your offer and urged to accept it. If you have no choice, the council will see to it that your scholarship will be well placed. And at the end of the school term your orphan will write you that he or she has completed the course which your generosity has provided. Thus you will have the satisfaction and pleasure of knowing that your ten dollars have actually produced a new Single Taxer. You will not have contributed to paying for rent, or a secretary, or postage,

or printing, or railroad fare—your money will make a Single Taxer. And you will receive a receipt at the end of the term from the convert you have made.

Nor are you limited to one orphan. Every ten dollars subscribed to this Geiger Memorial Fund will provide one scholarship, every hundred dollars will provide ten scholarships. You can have an entire orphanage of your own. Or, if you cannot afford ten dollars send what you can; your contribution will be added to others to make the necessary tuition fee for one scholarship. This is a sure-fire way of making converts; it has been tested and proven effective. It is the way you and I became Single Taxers. Think of all the money that has been spent on Single Tax efforts that have been so meagre in results when this method should have suggested itself to us years ago. It is so obvious, so simple, that it has escaped our attention. Oscar Geiger has shown the way. Let each of us follow along this right path and adopt at least one Single Tax orphan today. Perhaps the orphan you adopt will be the great political genius, the realist who will inject into our movement that measure of practicability which it has always lacked, and will lead a future generation of Pharaoh-ridden slaves to the Land of Promise.

## Untax the Forgotten Man —The Consumer

ADDRESS OF DR. C. J. LAVERY  
AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

**F**ORTY-ONE years ago it was my privilege to meet Henry George here in Chicago and hear him expound his philosophy of the more abundant life. He was a prophet and foretold the social and economic mess in which we have been floundering the last five years. His method is so simple that legislators of the nation and the States should understand it. I believe many of them do but are restrained from adopting it through force of habit.

### HABIT

Habit is a powerful thing. It makes legislators levy processing taxes, sales taxes, gross income taxes and net income taxes on industry when they should know that they reduce purchasing power and continue the vicious cycle that might be interrupted by taking the public product, land rent, for public expenses. They change the name but not the nature of the tax that they impose because of habit. Instead of taking the load off the overburdened farmers, railroads, gasoline and motor vehicles they apply another tax with a new name, because of habit.

### SLOGAN

Last year, Mr. Thomas Rhodus, in a speech which was published in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, gave us a slogan "Take Taxes Out of Prices." That, I believe, is an im-

portant contribution. It is my purpose to direct your attention, and I hope, the notice of legislators, to a rational course of action that will do that.

### FARMERS' NEEDS

I am a farmer, owner and operator of a farm in South Dakota. I know what farmers need. There are three essentials that are costing us more than we can afford to pay, namely: Land on which to work, transportation, and governmental activities. Our greatest expense is transportation, and that is not only true in respect to farmers; it is the largest one item of expense that every one pays. Our second highest is land to use, and that is also true of all citizens. The price of land must be reduced. Taxes are third in importance and must be shifted from transportation, which affects the price of goods. This also applies to and affects the entire population.

### TAX EXEMPTION

Our carrier charges could be reduced materially if in exchange for such reduction our Federal Government would exempt *all* transportation industries from their present duties as tax collectors. Congress alone can do that. It would take years for forty-eight State legislatures to give us that relief. A Federal levy of one per cent on *all* land values, urban and rural, would yield the national treasury about one and a half billion dollars a year; which approximates the taxes on railroads, motor vehicles, gasoline, and other transportation facilities for *all* governmental purposes.

### MOTOR VEHICLES AND GASOLINE

The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce declared that the sum of over one and one eighth billion dollars was paid by highway users of the United States for their 1933 motor vehicle taxes. The State and Federal gasoline taxes, excise taxes and registration fees were the biggest items in the bill. Out of each dollar the average motorist spent for gasoline, taxes ate up 30 cents. In spite of so called over-production gasoline is taxed so high that many folk can not buy it. Farmers use 26 per cent of all trucks. United States residents own one motor car for every five and one-quarter inhabitants. Just think of those facts when the crying need is more purchasing power.

### RAILROADS

Now view the railroads. They are paying over one billion dollars a day in taxes. Add the cost of their tax departments and interest on moneys involved and their total tax cost is over three million dollars daily, all added to their rates and paid by consumers, in high prices for goods and services.

### TAXES VERSUS BUYING POWER

The cost of motor vehicle and railroad tax last year hindered consumers buying two and a half billion dollars worth of products of labor. Please visualize the extra

wants that such a huge sum might have satisfied were taxes taken out.

I hold no brief for the railroads, the motor vehicle makers or the oil companies, nor have I any idea what their reaction will be to this proposal, but I do represent many farmers, who want freight rates cut 50 per cent.

The need for such an adjustment is urgent. Our foreign markets are gone. We are no longer a debtor nation, former-foreign creditors are now interested in other producers who are in debt to them. We must find a new market for our farm and factory products. We can make it here at home and a better one, by shifting taxes from our carriers to land values. Of our entire population 92 per cent are consumer-workers who will gladly buy 10 to 15 per cent more than they do now if Congress will "Take Taxes Out of Prices."

It is also urgent because our frontier is gone. For two decades there has been no common land to which our people could go and produce their living. We must open up a new frontier. There is but one way to do that; namely, tax land values.

### A FEDERAL JOB

We can not wait for the several States to make the required changes in their tax structures. We must petition and importune Congress, collectively and individually, to start this sane and workable method for recovery by exempting *all* carriers and their facilities from *all* taxes, and underwriting any and *all* such tax levies by States or other taxing bodies, that measure of relief to be financed by a Federal levy of one per cent on *all* land values. A good start in the right direction needs no more; and, to be successful, we must not compromise on anything else. *All* taxes must be exempt so that tax departments can be eliminated.

### LAND LEASE CONTRACT

The land tax cannot be passed on to consumers except by lease contract and that subterfuge is not always certain. Landlords don't like it too well. Any rise of the land value tax will tend to do away with that evil and other economic and social dislocations. It will make reform possible.

There is a maxim that good salesmen know and heed: "An appeal to reason that is not also an appeal to a want is never effective." Now let us reason together. Cheaper land and building material would eliminate slums without aid or benefit of government. Building contractors would borrow money from the banks and buy material, hire labor, and then the sound of the hammer would be heard in the land and thus circulate more money and employ the idle. Everybody is paying carrier taxes now, and we know that the landlord pays no tax. Every one knows that that is not a "Square Deal," or a "New Deal;" so it can not be Rooseveltian. Now consider the want side. Farmers and everybody want lower freight rates.

I want this adjustment by Congress about \$1,000 worth per year. Builders and all shippers want lower freight rates. Wage earners want their pay check to buy more things. Railroads have been clamoring about taxes for years, but they are not politicians.

Farmers need no other help from government and it can give no other without "Robbing Peter to pay Paul." Each farmed quarter section would save annually about \$350.00 and the additional one per cent land tax would cost it an average of \$19.60 in South Dakota; a clear profit of \$330.40 for each 160 acres. A 50 per cent cut in freight rates would do that.

### LABOR

How about labor? Wage earners could buy the things wanted for less money and would sell their product, the labor of their hands and head, on a constantly rising market. Any legislation, however devised or executed, can not relieve labor of its obligation to pay all land rent, all wages, all interest, and all profits; but *can* remove the cost of government, taxes, by shifting that load to land values, starting with transportation taxes.

Where is the money going to come from? Land monopolists will pay the bill, and that is as it should be, as the most valuable land is all monopolized. It will come from land rent and will cancel an equal amount of taxes if Congress legislates in the interest of 92 per cent of the population, the consumer-workers; instead of maintaining the other eight per cent in the enjoyment of their tax-free monopoly.

### RAILWAYS PUBLIC HIGHWAYS

Railroad rights-of-way are public highways and should be tax and rent free. They, and *all* other land owned by the railroads, should be purchased by the Federal Government at what they cost and paid for by retiring an equal amount of their funded debt. That would take them out of the land business and reduce their interest charge. They could then concentrate on railroading.

### NO PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Right here let it be distinctly understood that public ownership or operation of the railroads, their betterments or equipment, should not be considered for three reasons: First, railroading is industry, and government should not engage in industry or business in competition with citizens, except a natural monopoly, and railroads are no longer that. Second, our politicians are not, in any sense, qualified to organize, direct, and operate railroads, and until they are, we want none of them in *that* activity; and third, it would be more bureaucracy, and bureaucracy mad with power and graft. We have enough, and a surfeit of that now.

### NOT CONFISCATION

It is impossible to make common carriers pay taxes, but not so with landlords who hold valuable land out of use for speculation. It is hard, however, to visualize any landlord being reduced to the breadline. If William

Randolph Hearst had to pay an extra one per cent tax on his 240,000 acre San Simeon ranch, or his block after block of rich land in New York City, or his rich mineral land in the Black Hills in South Dakota, I believe that the Hearst family would still eat. It might hurt Columbia University while receiving land rent of \$3,600,000 a year for the site under Rockefeller Centre, and also Trinity Episcopal Church in New York City, with productive land assets of \$27,879,400; but there might be compensations. A land value tax of one per cent, or even higher, might not be an unmitigated misfortune to any of the eight per cent of our population.

### RUSSIA

I wonder if the "Once Was" landlords of Russia are now cursing themselves for being so stupid when they were governed by habit, and made the consumer-worker pay all land rent and all taxes as our landlords are doing today. I wonder if our landlords and legislators ever think of that. It is excellent food for thought.

We, here in America, have a different and better way to reduce, and eventually adjust, our economic, social and political dislocations. Our method will be slower perhaps than the Russian, but it will confiscate no property nor curtail anybody's liberty; it will set up no dictator or autocrat; it will despoil no homes nor spill any one's blood, regardless of his previous social or economic status; it will open up our closed frontier so that our people can own land if they choose. It will be 100 per cent American.

### NOT REVOLUTIONARY

The Henry George method has to be developed. It is in no sense revolutionary, nor is it a dogma to be memorized and repeated by rote. It is a course of action with tools already shaped and at hand.

Let us shift taxes gradually, step-by-step, and one step at a time, beginning where that adjustment is most needed, the transportation taxes, because they are wrapped up, and hidden, with every item of goods and services that everyone buys. We must start somewhere and concentrate on one thing at a time. This is not a plan. I hate the words: plan and planned economy. The human element renders such planning impossible without regimentation and that is unnecessary and un-American.

We should become very insistent and persistent in a united campaign directed toward Congressional action that will take taxes out of transportation prices by means of a tax of one per cent on land values.

### HOW TO DO THIS

How shall we go about this job? In my humble opinion we should, here and now, memorialize the United States Chamber of Commerce, and through that body, every commercial body in the several States, every railroad president in the entire country, and the National Auto

mobile Chamber of Commerce, and petition both houses of Congress and all appropriate committees of each, urging and asking for this imperative need at the earliest possible date.

### CALL ON PRESIDENT

A committee appointed by this Ninth Annual Henry George Congress should wait on His Excellency, President Roosevelt, at his convenience, and present our united supplication that he ask Congress to approach the problem of "The Forgotten Man" from a new and untried angle; namely: Untax the consumer by untaxing the carriers.

\* \* \* \*

We present this address of Dr. Lavery of Aberdeen, S. D., with its very novel proposal. But because of lack of space we make no comment at this time. The convention refused its endorsement embodied in a resolution, after some debate and a short speech in its defense from Dr. Lavery. We leave it to our readers to make their own comment.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

## Activities of the Manhattan Single Tax Club

**A**BOUT a dozen Single Tax addresses were made by President Ingersoll during the past two months exclusive of his speeches relating to his campaign for the Governorship of New Jersey.

Among the notably successful meetings was that of Alpha Tau Fraternity, on Oct. 27, at 438 Atkins Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., where a large audience of young Jewish students listened with rapt attention to an exposition of the economic gospel of Henry George. A mass of intelligent questions and alert discussion made the occasion particularly interesting and showed that the students had caught on to the implications of the Single Tax.

Regarding the meeting at the Unitarian Parsonage, 113 Cottage Place, Ridgewood, N. J., on Oct. 28, under the auspices of the Fireside Forum, President Ingersoll reports: "One of the most satisfying meetings I have ever addressed. Held in a neat little church in a thriving town. The pastor, Rev. Milton E. Muder, is a real personage leading real progressives. A capacity audience that made me feel at home. Talked for 15 minutes about my campaign for Governor; then half an hour on national, political and economic crises and the three alternatives they present: (1) Back to Bourbonism and monopoly; (2) 'Forward' to socialism or communism; (3) Onward to democracy and the Single Tax. Many questions were propounded and the meeting lasted until after midnight without losing an auditor. A number of Single Taxers and near-Single Taxers were present, including De Witt Clinton, Jr. A very different audience from last night's crowd of students at Brooklyn, but equally inspiring."

President Ingersoll has made more than 600 Single Tax radio broadcasts during the past year, but owing

to the fact that these presentations were mostly over the local stations, his radio message (according to expert radio guessers) possibly were not heard by more than a million and a quarter listeners. But he would have had to address about twenty thousand average Rotary Club meetings to get his message across to an equal number of hearers.

He has now completed an arrangement with Radio Station WOR for a weekly fifteen minute duly listed and advertised broadcast, and is also assured of completing a similar arrangement with each of two other leading national stations. This means that Single Taxers propaganda will be listened to over the radio each week by many millions of men and women. No such extensive, continuous use of the radio for the promotion of any economic or political cause has ever before been attempted.

A meeting of the Club was held recently at which plans for expanding its activities and increasing its efficiency were discussed and the question of securing more adequate and commodious quarters was considered.

One outcome of this meeting has been that the Club has already moved into a new room at 1165 Broadway (between 27th and 28th Streets) with nearly double the space of that formerly occupied at 1182 Broadway. And the new quarters are of more than double the value as compared with its former location, because of exceptional light and other obvious advantages. These new quarters equal those once maintained uptown by James R. Brown. There are here on display on the walls of the club room about 250 portraits of famous Single Taxers of the past and present representing every country of the world. There is an extensive economic library. Here can be seen priceless mementos, documents and souvenirs relating to our early history.

Henry George men, not only of the New York metropolitan district, but from all parts of the United States and from other countries are urged to make these rooms their headquarters, and to avail themselves of their facilities and of the opportunities they afford for meeting the comrades in the faith.

An informal social meeting of the Club will be held on Friday evening of each week, and all Single Taxers are urged to attend this meeting, regardless of membership.

The following letter which is now being sent to all members of the Club will explain the nature of the effort that is being made to improve the business set-up of the organization.

"We are undertaking to set the financial affairs of the Club on a permanently sound foundation by the securing of pledges for monthly contributions from our far-flung membership. (The activities and membership of the Club have always been national in scope.)

"To accomplish our purpose we need to secure only the

small minimum of 100 Contributing Members who are willing to contribute \$5.00 each per month.

"This will provide the Club a financial back-log of steady, dependable income and will remove the uncertainty that has in recent years attended the collection of its revenues.

"This oldest of Single Tax Clubs, whose founder and first enrolled member was Henry George, must continue its long and illustrious career and must increase its effectiveness as an agency for spreading the only gospel whereby the world may be saved from industrial chaos.

"Whether you become a Contributing Member or not, we urge you to favor us with your opinion of our plan for rebuilding the financial structure of the Club. And we will be deeply grateful if you will give us the names of any Single Taxers in your neighborhood who, in your opinion, might be considered prospects for Contributing Membership."

The Club is making a special effort to enroll young women and young men on its membership list.

CHARLES S. PRIZER.

## Good News from Pennsylvania

WE know you will be delighted to hear that in our smashing Democratic victory yesterday in Pennsylvania our good Single Tax friend, Charles R. Eckert, of Beaver, was elected to Congress from the 26th District by a very substantial majority. As you know Mr. Eckert is not only a life-time Single Taxer, but was one of the founders of the Henry George Foundation and has been a trustee since its inception. He made the Single Tax an outstanding issue in his campaign and in that connection published an excellent pamphlet, entitled "Primer on Good Government and Sound Economics."

At the same time, Mayor McNair's Secretary, Theodore L. Moritz, also an ardent Single Taxer, was elected to Congress here in Pittsburgh in the 32nd District, and Attorney Bernard B. McGinnis, another charter member of the Henry George Foundation and life-long Single Taxer, was elected to the State Senate in the 42nd District.

Our new United States Senator, Joseph Guffey, I am glad to report is a charter member of the Henry George Foundation and, while not so prominent or active in Single Tax affairs, has frequently shown his sympathy with the principle of land value taxation and its practical application.

Another item of good news is the appointment this week of our old friend Hugo W. Noren, as a member of our Board of Assessors, succeeding John J. Murray, who was elevated by the Mayor to the position of Director of Supplies. Mr. Noren's name was sent by the Mayor to City Council Monday and while he has not yet been confirmed, it is altogether probable that this appointment will be duly approved. Two other active members of our Henry George Club, Charles L. Brinton and Oscar C. Stoehr, were appointed to the Board of Assessors a few months ago to fill vacancies, so the Single Tax group is now well represented on this Board having to do with the taxation function of our municipal government. In this connection, the *Pittsburgh Press* published quite an interesting article last Sunday concerning the influence now being exerted in our municipal government by the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh.

P. R. WILLIAMS.

NOT all advocates of taxation according to ability to pay are racketeers but all racketeers, are practical advocates of such taxation.

## The Land Value Tax in China

THERE is a farm problem in China, one thousand years old, but only recently has there been a movement for rural reform, akin to our own farm administration complex. What this China matter really is has recently been set forth in good English by Prof. W. H. Ma, head of the political science department of the University of Nanjing. This economist explains that about eighty-five per cent of China's huge population consists of farmers and agricultural workers, who constitute the foundation of the Chinese economic organization. At the moment's thought should convince one that any drastic change that will effect China wholesomely as a whole must, of necessity, be based on a participation in the uplift movement by this agrarian majority. And yet for centuries this rural element has been virtually without participation in the government.

The need to give full recognition to the farming element was voiced by the late Sun Yat-sen in his famous programme for national reconstruction that is cherished almost as a constitutional programme by the republic. The patriot laid down the principle that the hsien (large rural districts) should be the basis for local government reforms. And in the manifesto later adopted by the first national congress of the Kuomintang, it is declared that "the hsien, or district, should be the unit of local self-government. That the people of every self-governing hsien should have the rights of electing and of recalling their own officials, as well as the rights of initiative and referendum in making laws."

It is further specified that 'land tax, the tax on the increment of land values, the products of public lands, and all profits derived from the forests, rivers and mines should be placed at the disposal of the local governments for developing local enterprises, relieving the poor and the aged, supporting orphans, carrying out famine relief and maintaining public health as well as similar public enterprises.'

This is a revolutionary programme, indeed, from the older method of relying on the mandarins and war lords to exercise those control and functions at their whim and will.

However, as to the expenses of the state, each hsien should remit to the national treasury a certain percentage of its income, such percentage to be not less than ten per cent or more than fifty per cent of its total receipts.

As a general resume, article ten of the manifesto announces that "the organization of rural communities should be improved so as to ameliorate the living conditions of the agricultural population. With the hsiens making their own laws and having power to enforce them, the prospects for farm life improvement would appear far brighter than ever before in the young republic's history.

New Orleans (La.) *Times Picayune*.

THE purchaser of, say a \$500 automobile, in Michigan is soaked three per cent of the price or \$15 by the sales tax. So when located near enough to the State boundary the purchaser crosses over to a more intelligent State and buys his auto there. Michigan auto dealers don't like this but are helpless. Many manufacturers are now buying coal and other supplies outside of the State and thus escape the tax. Michigan coal dealers are feeling the pinch. The legislators who passed the measure and Governor Comstock who signed it are astonished. They did not know there would be such results. They wanted to "relieve real estate," that is all. Well, real estate is being relieved all right—of a lot of paying tenants. Who ever said the sales tax is a "painless" tax had better not come to Michigan and say it.

# HENRY GEORGE AND HENRY FORD

**O**PINIONS differ, I suppose, about the educational value of the recent Henry George Congress at Chicago, which brought together ardent Georgists from various parts of the country for the exchange of views and renewal of faith in their inspiring philosophy of just social relationships. For me the occasion was worthwhile, not alone for the pleasure and inspiration which one derives from contacts with fine personalities; with men of keen mentality and soundly logical processes of thought and expression, men interested in an utterly unselfish way in the solution of the problems of human society.

For another reason, that made an impressive appeal to my interest and imagination, I found my visit to Chicago worthwhile. Let me tell you about it.

\* \* \*

## Henry Ford's Big Show

It was before the closing of that remarkable Century of Progress Exposition on the Lake Michigan shore front. Of all the varied attractions within the gates of that big show the most impressive educational appeals seemed to be those found within the great building of the Ford Motor Company. The Ford Exposition, I am told, attracted immense crowds during the last year. Perhaps the visitors were chiefly interested in the great circular building in which were presented the exhibits illustrating the drama of transportation from the earliest historic period to date. There you could see actual specimens of man's means of locomotion, from the state chariot of King Tutankhamen to the wagons and coaches used before the advent of the first automobile. Then you were able to inspect, specimen by specimen, the motor vehicles, from the earliest crude contraption of not so many years ago to the latest finished Ford car. This transportation exhibit alone was impressive for its significance as a measure of the progress the human family has made in the invention and adaptation of means to ends.

\* \* \*

## But the Spirit of the Thing!

But to me, as a follower of Henry George, there were many things about the big Ford show most interesting and suggestive; things that seemed to breathe a spirit of Americanism in its best tradition of freedom, of knowledge of the essential fundamentals of economic truth and just government. There were legends, for example, painted high and clear at intervals upon the walls of the Hall of Transportation. Some of these legends strongly suggested to me the views of Henry George. To a bright young man in attendance I addressed a question as to the authorship of these wall

preachments. He said, evidently with pride, "Those, sir, were written by Mr. Henry Ford himself!"

It seemed to me then that I could find parallels in the writings of Henry George for most of the texts that Henry Ford placed before the eyes of the multitudes who passed through this great building at the Fair.

\* \* \*

## Ford Texts and Henry George

Since returning to New York, I have found what appear to be definite resemblances between those wall texts of Henry Ford and the views revealed in the writings of Henry George; enough to suggest that, perhaps, the great American industrialist has some acquaintance with the books of the great American philosopher and economist. For example, Henry Ford says:

1

*"Never yet has enough of any good thing been produced for use."*

Now Henry George has preached many a sermon from this text. He puts it briefly in "Social Problems," (p.76) this way:

"Evidently the glut of markets does not really come from overproduction when, there are so many who want the things which are said to be overproduced, and would gladly exchange their labor for them did they have opportunity."

And this way in "Progress and Poverty," (p. 267):

"For while the great masses of men want more wealth than they can get, and while they are willing to give for it that which is the basis and raw material of wealth—their labor—how can there be overproduction? And while the machinery of production wastes and producers are condemned to unwilling idleness, how can there be overconsumption?"

2

Henry Ford says:

*"High Wages and Best Materials—the only road to low prices."*

Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," (p. 444), says:

"It is but a truism that labor is most productive where its wages are largest. Poorly paid labor is inefficient labor, the world over."

· 3 ·

Henry Ford says:

*"If we had more justice, there would be less need of charity."*

In "Social Problems," (p. 86) Henry George says:

"That justice is the highest quality in the moral hierarchy I do not say; but that it is the first. . . . As the individual must be just before he can be truly generous, so must human society be based upon justice before it can be based on benevolence."

4

Henry Ford says:

*"Industry is mind using nature to make human life more free."*

And in "Social Problems," (p. 80) Henry George says:

"Mind, not muscle, is the motor of progress, the force which compels nature and produces wealth. . . . We have only begun to grasp that dominion which it is given to mind to obtain over matter. Discovery and invention are born of leisure, of material comfort, of freedom. These secured to all and who shall say to what command over nature man may not attain?"

5

Henry Ford says:

*"With one foot on the land and one in industry America is safe."*

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 137):

"The occupations that resort directly to nature are the primitive occupations from which, as society progresses, all others are differentiated. No matter how complex the industrial organization, these must always remain the fundamental occupations, upon which all other occupations rest, just as the upper stories of a building rest upon the foundation."

6

Henry Ford says:

*"The farm and the shop each needs what the other produces."*

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 120)

"All trade, it is to be remembered, is the exchange of commodities for commodities. . . . Whatever increases the quantity of things offered in exchange for other things at once increases supply and augments demand. And reversely, whatever checks the bringing of things to market at once reduces supply and decreases demand."

7

Henry Ford says:

*"The auto made roads and roads make commerce and civilization."*

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 126):

" . . . The greater distances over which produce and goods must be transported, the difficulties which separation

interposes to that commerce between men which is necessary even to the ruder forms of modern production, all retard and lessen production."

And further, "Progress and Poverty," (p. 48):

"Production includes not merely the making of things, but the bringing of them to the consumer."

8

Henry Ford says:

*"If you stabilize anything it is likely to be the wrong thing."*

Henry George says, "Progress and Poverty," (p. 319):

"Governmental regulation of industry and accumulation are the substitution of governmental direction for the play of individual action, and the attempt to secure by restriction what can better be secured by freedom."

9

Henry Ford says:

*"The growth of food, the making of tools, and transportation—three basic jobs."*

And Henry George in "Social Problems," (p. 99) says:

"Food, clothing, shelter, all the articles that minister to desire and that we call wealth, can be produced by labor, but only when the raw material of which they must be composed is drawn from the land."

10

Henry Ford (who plainly believes in freedom of trade) says:

*"It is not good business unless buyer and seller both gain by it."*

Henry George says in "Science of Political Economy," (p. 316):

"It is by exchange and through exchange that man obtains and is able to exert the power of cooperation which with the advance of civilization so enormously increases his ability to produce wealth. The motive of exchange is the primary postulate of political economy, the universal fact that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. This leads men by a universal impulse to seek to gratify their desires by exchange wherever they can thus obtain the gratification of desire with less exertion than in any other way. . . ."

11

Henry Ford says:

*"Individualism is what makes cooperation worth having."*

And Henry George says in "Science of Political Economy," (p. 18):

"To consider in like manner any one of the many and great advances which civilized man in our time has made over the power of the savage, is to see that it has been gained, and could only have been gained by the widening cooperation of individual effort".

\* \* \*

### Basic Materials in a Ford Car

The social and economic philosophy revealed by this partial quotation from Henry Ford's little preachments to the multitude at Chicago seems clear enough. But the analogy and correspondence with the teachings of Henry George seemed particularly noticeable in one particular exhibit at the entrance to the main Ford Building at the Fair. Here was set up a large revolving hemisphere, probably twenty feet high, surmounted by one-half of a Ford V8 car split longitudinally. As the sphere revolved it revealed to the eye colored sectional pictures in bas-relief showing the sources of all materials that went into the construction of the car. Thus, life-like representations followed one another of men laboring beneath the surface of the earth, or in the fields or forests, to produce iron, copper, zinc, glass, cotton, wool, rubber, asbestos, cork, aluminum, and soy beans. From each picture as it passed, an arrow extended pointing to the section of the car on the top which was supplied with the material whose source was thus graphically depicted. At the top was the legend: "The Basic Elements of Earth Combined by Creative Genius."

\* \* \*

### "Man Must Go to the Earth"

Nearby, a compact box of little samples of iron, copper and zinc ore, and of the various other basic materials, going into a Ford car was sold to visitors for ten cents, bearing at the top the legend "*Man must go to the Earth for All Materials.*"

Thus was shown Henry Ford's educational aim—to illustrate and emphasize graphically the fact that the basic elements which labor produces by access to mine, field and forest, when "combined by creative genius," constitute the sum total of all that is necessary for the limitless production of wealth for the satisfaction of human needs and desires. This exhibit, it seemed to me, would have delighted Henry George, were he in the land of the living, as it delighted Mrs. Anna George de Mille, his daughter, when she visited the Ford exhibit in my company. This last described exhibit might well have carried this legend from "Social Problems," (p. 132):

"As wealth consists of materials and products of nature which have been secured, or modified by human exertion so as to fit them for the satisfaction of human desires, labor is the active factor in the production of wealth, but land is the passive factor, without which labor can neither produce nor exist."

\* \* \*

### "Work and Wages for Everybody"

Henry Ford may not be a Georgist; may never have read any of Henry George's books. Unmistakably, however, it would seem that his mind has grasped many of the essentials of George's philosophy of social regeneration through economic freedom. Recently, in an illuminating interview reported by Anne O'Hare McCormick in the *Times*, Mr. Ford is vehement in scorning unemployment insurance as a solution of the unemployment problem.

"That is a typically political solution" he says, "and one of the best ways to insure having unemployment."

"In general," reports Mrs. McCormick, "Mr. Ford scouts the idea that the satisfaction of human wants cannot and should not supply work and wages enough for everybody."

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

## A Radiant Science

SKYSCRAPERS and slums and vacant lots are results of a common cause, land monopoly, which is in its turn the result of a faulty system of taxation. And the whole question of the right to the use of the earth is interwoven with the need for revenue in such manner that political economy instead of being the dismal science it has been called, becomes the most fascinating of studies. Any science may well be attractive but the one dealing with human relations is doubly so now that Henry George has put the law of wages upon a solid foundation and given a basis for economic reasoning wherein each step is logical and orderly.

ALBERTA GEISER, in *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*.

FOR the benefit of steel trust employees Congress put an enormous tariff on steel. Since they are not getting the benefits the employes are threatening to strike. This being the case any one who honestly believes that the tariff is intended to protect labor would immediately conclude that it might as well be abolished and would tell the steel trust so, which would promptly bring the steel trust to its knees. But how many honest protectionists are there in Congress? Just as many as have given the steel trust this warning. Have you finished counting them? Neither have we.

BY strangling the land taxes the Chancellor has deprived himself of one fruitful and just source of revenue. He has done this to entrench landowners in their monopoly. They are to continue to appropriate socially-created wealth, while the rest of the community are to bear the ever increasing taxes on the necessities of life.

PHILIP SNOWDEN.

THE nine thousand words used in the Darrow report were a waste. They could have been boiled down to this: "The New Deal is an effort to resist nature and nature is irresistible."

For good results a trusty brain will beat a brain trust any day.

# What Shall We Do To Be Saved?

By FRANK STEPHENS

THE invitation of the Henry George Foundation to its Conference of 1934 announced: "Ways and means for further advances will be discussed." The first on the list of prospective topics was: "Economic Problems." Among those following were: "What Price Economic Ignorance?" "The Problem of Ownership Income," "If Henry George Were Writing Today," "The Henry George School of Social Science," "Economics and Politics," "The Single Tax and Its Relation to Other Reforms." Surely these were enough to warrant the belief that in the discussion of: "ways and means for further advances" one might bring up questions relating to the science of economics as presented in "Progress and Poverty," especially if these questions arose in relation to immediate and pressing economic problems.

So believing I came to the Conference seeking knowledge, plainly within the scope of economic science, as taught by Henry George, which is of vital importance to those of us who are now living our religion in the Enclaves of Single Tax and to the whole movement as soon as the time comes for which we are all striving when we shall have succeeded in making our economics and philosophy matters of general consideration.

It is one of many debts owing to the Enclaves by our whole movement that in their management such questions have arisen of which there has been no recognition as being matters of great, practical importance before the Enclaves were forced to consider them. My hope was that among our leaders gathered together from far-off parts of this country and Canada would be found some to answer what we and our neighbors thus far cannot.

To my surprise I found not only complete ignorance as to the matters in question on the part of all present but an almost complete and for the most part indignant refusal even to permit their discussion. To attempt it without interference with the announced programme of speeches, I obtained from the management, leave to announce two meetings for such discussion, from 8 a. m. to the scheduled openings of the morning sessions at 9:30. The first of these brought together seven delegates, one for a few moments only, the second brought together two.

I thereupon asked that through the courtesy of LAND AND FREEDOM I might express some opinions as to the matters where no one would be compelled even to listen to them to whom the process of thinking on economics is over-difficult or repellent. Forty years ago, in the Henry George Club of Philadelphia, such subjects were discussed and debated to a general agreement with an earnestness, honesty and intelligence which is today unknown in our

movement so far as that movement is known to me. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that this may account for the living faith of those days as contrasted with the dreary uncertainty and pessimism so sadly run to nothingness in the Conference address of Mr. Clarence Darrow.

In the matter of "further advances" we are all agreed that our present advance is too slow for the feverish haste in which our entire civilization is dashing into despotism and chaos. We are all in disagreement as to the cause of that fatal slowness. In my opinion it is because advocates of the Single Tax know so little about it and are so especially ignorant of the economic truths on which our philosophy is built up as "a house founded upon a rock." So general is this ignorance that all which now saves us from being overwhelmed and forgotten as a school of belief is that the ignorance of those who oppose us, socialists, communists and reactionaries alike, is even greater.

In this opinion I quote the agreement of our gifted, learned and devoted fellow-worker, George L. Rusby, "I share your view that nearly all of our so-called Single Taxers are without knowledge of the basic principles underlying the proposition. Clear perception of the vital differences is lacking. It is this incomplete knowledge of the fundamentals of the George teachings among Georgists themselves that is largely responsible for our present drifting towards communism and disaster."

I do not believe that the cause of our deplorable slowness is, as so often urged at the Conference, that we have had so little political success and that so few of our people have been elected or appointed to political office. As we proved by the failure of the Delaware campaign of 1895-6 the rivalry and trading of our own people for election to local offices is fatal. Office holding is always dangerous to principles. Tom L. Johnson, after his congressional experience, told me no man could hold political office in Washington and not be the worse for it. So it was surely with two men whom I knew first as earnest and self-sacrificing reformers and who ended as disappointed and disillusioned office seekers, Champ Clark and Wm. J. Bryan. Everyone knows what Ramsey MacDonald once was and what he is now. It is conceivable that even Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Newton Baker were once honest and truthful men. Henry George said the business of the politician is to minimize resistance. Usually this is done by compromise and deceit, if not by saying what one does not believe, at best by saying only so much of what one believes as is acceptable to the majority. And the majority is always cowardly and reactionary. Further there is no necessary relation between ability to get votes and ability to legislate justice.

This is no reflection upon our friend McNair. He may prove to be the exception. But in the first place there are not many McNairs, and, in the second, hindsight, though less valuable than foresight, is apt to be more accurate.

Nor is our advance, as so often claimed in conference

speeches, so slow because we must await a great leader. We have had that leader in life and in inspiration as great a leader as ever lived. Confucionism, Buddhism, Moham-medanism, Christianity, these did not have to wait for the coming of a second great leader. They succeeded because of the wisdom and will with which their apostles preached the gospel of their first leader. So it must be with us and the swiftness or slowness of the advance of our cause depends upon our acceptance of Henry George as a teacher of social science and human brotherhood and the wisdom and will with which we preach his gospel.

It is in this connection I assert that willing as his fol-lowers may be to work for his truth, "suffer for it and if need be die for it," they have not knowledge enough of the science of which he is the greatest of all masters to advance his cause other than slowly and haltingly. John Dewey said the philosophers since Plato's day worthy to be classed with Henry George can be counted on the fingers of the two hands. He might have added that those of George's followers competent today to plead his cause with George's logical exactness can be counted upon the fingers of one hand.

The pleas at this Conference, the purposes of all the ingenious plans for organization and propaganda, were that we must educate as to George's teachings. Those whom we should educate first of all as to those teachings, their tremendous possibilities, and the economic science from which they are drawn, are ourselves.

All depends upon our attitude toward the teacher. I speak as one who believes he was as wise a man as ever taught and his book the greatest and most needed that was ever written. But it is too much to demand that a man writing a scientific text book, along lines in which he was to a great extent a pioneer, should make no state-ment that would be proven wrong by the studies and experiences of the succeeding half century. Could that be asked of those who then wrote as authorities in the science of astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, even apart from their relations to the marvelous other sciences, radio transmission and the like, of whose very existence our scientific grandfathers knew nothing?

To follow in the footsteps of a great leader one need not lie down and roll in the mud where he made a mis-step. What is necessary is to move forward along the paths he opened with the guidance of his motives and methods. It is not necessary to declare that one will never press farther along than he attained. This is the plain meaning of those words of Henry George which his followers so disregard, that he did not want men to accept his opinions but wanted them to think for themselves. Loyalty to his memory does not consist in repeating words, even his wonderful words, like a Thibetan-praying machine, but in carrying on his studies in the light of the last half-century's added experience and with the method by which he so triumphantly succeeded.

As to his method of research he leaves no doubt, and

his followers have failed in the first and fundamental one, which he enforced by the precept of Socrates: "The beginning of wisdom is in the definition of terms," and by that of Marcus Aurelius which is printed before the title page of "Progress and Poverty:" "Make to thy-self a definition or description of the thing that is pre-sented to thee."

Our failure here is almost unbelievable. The five men who with myself accepted the invitation to a conference discussion of economics are prominent enough in our movement to be known by name to practically all our fellow workers. Yet not one of us could give a definition which the majority of us would accept of any of the fol-lowing familiar economic terms—Wealth, Money In-terest, Utility, Value. Most of those present believed Value to be a thing, an object. And we are those who propose to educate the world in the science of economics in a crisis when the world is dashing to destruction through ignorance of that science.

Further proof of our incompetence is given by our refusal as Single Tax advocates to discuss the money question and the interest question in our conferences and public meetings. Our spokesmen push their heads into the sand, or rather into the mud, gurgled forth: "If you had all the money in the world and I had all the land what would you do if I ordered you to get off my land?" and then we plume ourselves on having silenced all ques-tioners as to money and interest, the two topics about which questions are most earnestly asked today through-out the civilized world.

Senator Harrison in his excellent address at the Con-ference Banquet pleaded for more cooperation with re-formers of other schools and asked why it cannot be. The chief reason is that all other groups of reformers, socialists, communists, anarchists, liberals generally, be-lieve the money question to be of tremendous importance and are united against what they consider the fatal exactions of interest. Our little few alone among so-called reformers refuse to talk about money and attempt to defend interest by those arguments of Henry George thereon which were ridiculed and thoroughly refuted forty years ago by the Philosophic Anarchists led by Tucker and Yarros, and are not now accepted by any considerable number of Georgists.

It is not that we ought to accept the opinions of other reformers as to the relative importance of questions of money and interest, but we ought to educate ourselves on these subjects as to which "Progress and Poverty" has not taught us, or has not taught us correctly. We should be ashamed of our cowardly evasion: "We will not debate these questions with you but if you will debate the land question we can beat you." This is too much like the reply of state socialists when we ask how they, believing as we do in the common right to the use of the earth, think it can be made of effect by communal collection of economic rent and they reply: "We'll cross

that bridge when we come to it." We ought to know enough to meet them in debate on their chosen topics, money and interest, fight them to a finish there, and so give them respect enough for our knowledge of economics to lead them to listen to our arguments on the land question.

Of like cowardice and absurdity was the assertion of the gifted orator from Cleveland who twice so thrilled us with his eloquence when in admitting he is not able to answer the question Arden so earnestly asks: "How shall we assess the rental value of land when collection of economic rent has ended selling values?" he shuffled out by saying: "Let us be elected first and we'll find out what to do about it afterwards." The cheapest ward politician would not insult his constituents by such a quibble.

This is the question brought up as vital to the existence of the enclaves, a question I have asked year after year at these Conferences only to be told not to press it then and not to bring it up thereafter. Sometimes one or two delegates would rise and say they could answer it, but on following up all, either by interview or letter, I found in every case that they did not know about it enough even to understand the question.

Our fellow workers in New Zealand and Australia have gone fartherst in this inquiry. Those in England, as I know from letters of the high authority appointed to assess land values in England before MacDonald's wretched failure had ruined what Snowden had tried to do, cannot answer it. The ablest man of my acquaintance along these lines, a professional expert in land appraisal, has not answered it to my understanding, nor have the experts of the Somers System nor those two of our Single Tax editors who are best versed in the knowledge of Georgian economics.

There were present in the Conference the leaders of the various educational and propaganda groups of our movement, one in particular of international reputation, also officials and assessors of the cities of whose advances in tax reform we boast the most, and there were there also the best known leaders of the enclavial movement, but all I could secure from them was a request to take my question away unanswered and not trouble future Conferences with it.

If by an unlooked-for happening in these mad, present day conditions where anything may happen unlooked-for, President Roosevelt and his advisors should turn to one of our belief for council and should be told our faith in the results that would follow ending land speculation and land monopoly by the collection of economic rent, this is the question they would first ask if they understood our plan. Is there no one of us who could answer it?

I must not ask space to develop the related thesis that the vast majority of so-called Single Taxers are not Single Taxers at all but state socialists who favor land

value taxation. Their opinion of Henry George is in reality about that so quaintly set forth by a Chicago newspaper when first reviewing: "Progress and Poverty:" "The author appears to be a kind of communist, yet he means well"—not a profound judgment perhaps but at least better than that taken by *The Nation* in its review and consistently maintained to this day: "We have to consider Mr. George's position essentially unsound."

Yet our exhorters are right, we must educate, poorly as we have thus far fitted ourselves to be teachers, but with more vivid realization of what is likely to be the goal of the blind led by the blind. We must educate, and the time between this and the chaos of the next Dark Ages is lessening fast. Probably the so-much deplored failure to draw more young people into our movement is due to the fact that they look upon the past, the shameful record of social outrages perpetrated or tolerated by us their elders both before, during and after the World War, as an open book which everybody has read. Therefore they very sensibly have no respect for our opinions. As to the present they see that our society is without leaders or principles, in the guidance of no one.

Yes—we must educate. The Past is everybody's, the Present is nobody's but the Future—if there is to be a Future—must be ours.

## Comment on Frank Stephen's Article

By JOHN LUXTON

MR. STEPHENS takes a very gloomy view of the situation as far as Single Taxers are concerned. The idea that the science of economics as expressed in "Progress and Poverty" is not fully adequate in solving whatever problems may arise now, or in the future, so far as man's economic welfare is concerned, is not to be tolerated for an instant by those who understand the Single Tax. But one must be sure that such are legitimate problems and not just fears entertained by those unable to use the tools at their disposal.

The author of the article asks: "How shall we assess the rental value of land when the collection of economic rent has ended selling value?" This question has bothered him for years and he says that Conference after Conference has avoided answering it. He claims that the existence of enclaves depends upon it.

Since selling value depends upon the economic rent the solution of the problem is simple. Destroying the selling value does not wipe out economic rent, but wiping out economic rent does destroy selling value. We are well acquainted with the latter phenomenon. The diversion of traffic from lower Fulton Street, in Brooklyn due to the erection of the Brooklyn Bridge, caused a fall

in property values in that section following a migration of business toward Flatbush Avenue. The lower part of Jersey City suffered a similar decline due to the opening of the McAdoo tubes. Mr. Stephens seems to be under the impression that the result of taking the economic rent will first destroy selling value and thus the basis for determining rent. We Single Taxers are all agreed that it will do the former. That is the goal we look forward to. The latter will never happen when the Single Tax is fully in force. It is not so in force in enclaves where a limited number of disciples are struggling along trying to prove objectively the soundness of their philosophy. First there are county and State taxes to be paid, after these the income tax, gasoline taxes, and whatever other taxes the ingenuity of politicians and lawmakers may concoct. The opportunities in enclaves are limited. There is no great competition for certain sites, such as the local butcher, grocer, drug, or hardware store. Hence there is no bidding for sites, and a seemingly difficult job of assessing ground rent arises.

This is a problem that belongs to enclaves alone, and it is up to enclavists to solve it in the only practical way. Require of each business man an accounting of his stewardship each year; an itemized account of all expenditures and all income, the value of his own services judged by the prevailing rate of wages in the same lines elsewhere, the return on his capital at prevailing rates, all insurance payments, and a small percentage, to be determined by the enclavists in their general meeting, to be applied to an emergency fund for the particular business. These items include all interest and wages. They also include the tribute paid to State and county in the form of taxes. Since these latter expenditures are really a legal form of robbery they have the choice of deducting them from the business man's wages and capital return or of deducting them from the rental value which in the enclave should be the surplus after all of the enumerated expenses are taken out of income. I think that they should be deducted from the rental value, since in this way only is it possible for the tradesman in an enclave to enjoy the full product of his labor.

Lest it seem that this method of computing the rental value of business land in an enclave does not take into consideration the return due to a man's superior knowledge and skill, let me explain that only under pure and unadulterated Single Tax will any man receive full justice in an equitable distribution of wealth. The residential property in an enclave will have to be assessed in the same manner that the prices for seats at the theatre, the legitimate stage of course, are assessed. Such property can be assessed without difficulty at the start of an enclave's existence by considering the same principles that real estate operators consider in any new development. Any misjudgment will show itself later on and can be adjusted satisfactorily to all concerned. Later

assessments must be determined by the budgetary and site value of the lots.

So much for enclaves, of which I do not approve unless they can be made colonies free and independent of all taxes whatsoever. Can a man travel to his best advantage, when burdened like Sinbad with the old man of the sea? When the entire State collects the economic rent the problem does not exist. The selling value will have been destroyed but not the economic rent. Land is assessed now, not by government assessors but by experts in realty values, for the purpose of buying and selling real estate. There is no guesswork about it. Government assessors err very often by from ten to twenty-five per cent in assessing resident sites because graft, favoritism, and ignorance are to be expected in our method of carrying on government business on account of the prevalence of privilege throughout our social fabric. But real estate salesmen who survive the ups and downs of business depressions are no amateurs or shysters. Shysters blossom out with much noise, glaring advertisements, fancy cars, clothes, and suites, but they wither and disappear after a year or two. The real estate man whose name remains year after year rarely makes any mistake in computing the possibilities of any parcel of land. From these possibilities he arrives at the selling price. If he is commissioned to buy the land he sets a limit to his bids, starting low and working up, but he never pays more than he believes to be the real value based upon the potential economic rent capitalized at five per cent. To arrive at the potential economic rent he has canvassed all property owners in the neighborhood, learned the rents of improved property, prices asked, prices offered, length of time on the market, and all other information upon which to base his conclusion. If he is selling land he knows all these things in advance, sets his lowest price and attempts to get the highest price possible. He expects the prospective customer to meet him on his own ground and then begins the "higgling" of which Oscar Geiger used to speak. When a final price is agreed upon both buyer and seller are satisfied. The only persons taken in in the buying of land or land and improvements are the gullible and inexperienced. Can one imagine a group of investors in a power site, bankers and promoters, proceeding to buy without first having information furnished by expert engineers and real estate men in their employ?

If it is possible to assess land values accurately in private business it is certainly possible to do the same under government auspices when monopoly and other forms of privilege shall have been destroyed by the working of the Single Tax. Thus, Mr. Stephen's question which he has propounded for so many years resolves itself into a private problem for enclavists, in fact a skeleton in the closet which enclavists should be careful to conceal from the eyes of practical folk.

I am not sure that we are "all agreed that our present

advance is too slow for the feverish haste in which our entire civilization is dashing into despotism and chaos." I am one of those who believe that civilization must go on to the bitter end and end in chaos and destruction, the final end of despotism, because our present civilization is so honeycombed with class prejudice and injustice that it is not fit to survive. Single Tax is capable of working wonders with it if put into force but the working of the wonders will take years. It were better to start from scratch, let man slowly find himself as he emerges from the destruction of our rotten civilization, and with the knowledge available, and the horrible example of man's refusal to be guided by his own discoveries, the man of the succeeding civilization can profit where we have failed. But this is not the opinion of others and I offer it here only to show the fallacy of Mr. Stephen's statement. There is no need for stampeding truth into a headlong rush to oblivion simply because civilization is doing so.

Far be it from me to find fault with the faith of those of many years ago, but I am so confident of the living faith of those of the present generation who accept in its fullness the doctrine of the Single Tax that I do not believe that the Single Taxers of forty years ago were any more animated by the spirit of man's love for mankind than we are. One must not forget that in all ages those who respond to a dynamic and magnetic leader are legion, and this applies to leaders who are scoundrels as well as to angelic characters such as Christ and Henry George. We grow by what we feed upon. What has Clarence Darrow fed upon but the mental fodder supplied by the environment during these last fifty years. The Haymarket riot and succeeding legal massacres, the treatment of John P. Altgeld, the Pullman Strike, Homestead disorders, etc., to name a few, are not mental nourishment for one who believes that the Declaration of Independence means what it says.

When one considers that man is a biological entity the fact that not one of five prominent Single Taxers could agree upon certain definitions is not to be wondered at. Mr. Stephens expects too much of the human race. It is still in a state of evolution mentally. Also it is hidebound by an enormous mass of misinformation that has been accumulated from the beginning of man's time on earth and passed on as learning. To be fully educated is impossible since man spends so much of his time unlearning nonsense. I speak from a quarter of a century of experience in the educational field.

Money and interest are problems understood by so few people in the world that there is no wonder that even Single Taxers balk at trying to discuss them. This is due to confusion even in the minds of experts in banking and finance. If Communists and Socialists rush into discuss these issues it is because they have been clever enough to learn of the ignorance of the average man on such matters. Mr. Stephens should know that the late Oscar Geiger was able to confound both Socialists and Communists on the subject of money and interest, and

did so frequently at the forums of the Henry George School of Social Science. He did not put his head in the sand, not by a long shot. Lest Mr. Stephens fear these Socialists and Communists let me assure him that they are mere windbags, changing their premises and meaning of terms many times in a single discussion. How on earth can one convince such folk?

If all mankind could vision money in its true light, a draft upon the stock of existing wealth, to be used in exchange for goods or services at the convenience of its possessor, much of the confusion in regard to it would disappear. The really important problem for man to solve is the acquisition of it and not its meaning, which never was in doubt. Interest is too often considered merely as the charge for the use of money when it is in fact the return for the use of some one else's wealth. It may be that certain men believe that Henry George was refuted by this or that expert on interest, but Mr. Stephens accepts the refutation without giving reasons and proof. If Mr. Stephens lends me his typewriter and in consequence has to stop writing until I return it, thereby losing the chance to earn wages with it, or is compelled to hire one in its place, he is certainly not enjoying the use of his own property. I should make a return for the loss to him if I believe in an equitable distribution of wealth. If I don't I am accepting charity. The return is interest. No Socialist nor Communist will deny its justification in the case I mention. But we should not permit them to stray from the field when discussing these topics. From sad experience we know their methods in argument and that is the reason why many of us will not argue with them, and not that we are just cowardly evasive.

Mr. Stephens has weighed Single Taxers in the balance and found them wanting. He says that the vast majority are not Single Taxers at all but state socialists, favoring land value taxation. I must admit that after all this I am at a loss to tell what sort of Single Taxer Mr. Stephens is. Does he believe in the collection of the economic rent in lieu of all taxes, or does he believe in them with a proviso? He has betrayed his own ignorance regarding the computing of ground rent and his confusion as to money and interest. He has failed to explain why Single Taxers fall down in expounding Henry George's theory but sees a way out in educating the coming generations, admitting the shortcomings of the teachers. Perhaps the confusion in Mr. Stephens' mind comes through the refusal to see man as the biologist sees him, an animal forced to draw his sustenance for growth and repair of tissue, and for the release of body heat and energy to carry on the functions of a living organism, from the ground, the water, and the air around him and who must have free access to these great storehouses of body-building and life-sustaining materials or perish from the face of the earth. Considering man in this light, money and credit become mere tools made by man to assist him in the fulfilling of his biological mission to live.

## The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

SINCE our report in August many things have happened in and out of the Foundation office that may be of interest to LAND AND FREEDOM readers.

In September, Prof. Brown's booklet, "Talk About Taxes," was sent with a letter and book circular to our list of 1,800 professors. The booklet is a popular one, and several teachers use it in connection with their class work. Librarians have asked for it in considerable numbers. Let no one think that this half yearly work with the teachers and professors is ineffective. From it proceeds a very fair number of orders for books that are used directly in the classroom. The unabridged "Progress and Poverty" is the most popular; "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty" comes next. Recently a well-known professor in the University of Illinois placed his order with us for 67 copies of the unabridged book.

In early October we prepared a letter which was sent to 2,000 county school superintendents and 1,500 high school principals. More than fifty school officials ordered copies of "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," or both. The letter stated in part:

"Henry George who wrote 'Progress and Poverty' in 1879 spent the succeeding years lecturing and writing upon the need for a new conscience and spirit in the planning of our economic and social life. He lived to see his great book translated into many languages and read by millions of people all over the world. Today, more than fifty years after the initial appearance of George's arguments against special privilege, monopoly, and the evils of our existing tax system, 'Progress and Poverty' and the companion book 'Social Problems' still belong in the best seller lists, and are being read by thousands."

Among the teachers and county superintendents who responded with orders for the books were the following: County Superintendent of Schools, Edgard, La.; Groton, N. Y.; Anson, Me.; Somerset, Pa.; Coeymans, N. Y.; Minneapolis, Kan.; Nazareth, Pa.; La Salle, Ill.; Allegheny County, Pa.; Marinette, Wis.; Colfax, Wis.; Washington, Ind.; Modoc, Calif.; South Pasadena, Calif.; Windom, Minn.

Recently we found that the seventh printing of "Progress and Poverty" and the fifth printing of "Significant Paragraphs" had been exhausted. Orders were placed for new printings of each. The latter book has a bright new jacket, is printed on better paper, and altogether makes one of the most attractive little propaganda books yet produced. New editions were necessary for "Protection of Free Trade," and "The Land Question," (the latter containing besides its title book the famous debate with the Duke of Argyll, entitled "Property in Land," and the "Open Letter to Pope Leo.") These books will be ready for the Christmas season. They match each

other in size, bright yellow jackets, and attractive blue bindings. Eventually we hope to offer a complete set of George's works, with these books forming the nucleus of the set, the other titles to be added later as a demand for them appears. The cost involved, however, in putting all of George's writings into print is large, and for the time being no further editions are contemplated. It is estimated that the Foundation has spent about \$20,000 in printing books to date. A total of 50,000 books have been printed, and about 45,000 distributed by sale and otherwise since 1926. *Since May this year*, 2,344 books have been distributed, of which 1,100 were the unabridged "Progress and Poverty" and 500 were "Social Problems."

It was the privilege of the undersigned to attend the Conference in Chicago during the week of October 8, and to make a report and explanation of the work that is being carried on by the Foundation. Many pleasant contacts were made, and the secretary was glad to greet among the many, such good friends as Mr. Ewing, Mr. Strachan, Dr. Freyermuth, Miss Brownlee, Mr. Taber, Mr. Warren, Mr. Waldauer, Mr. and Mrs. Tideman, Mrs. Monroe, Mr. Sikes, Mr. Merrell, Mr. Jones, Mr. Canning, the Pittsburgh group, and scores of others, well-known by correspondence, if not by personal meeting.

Mrs. de Mille and our president, Mr. Hennessy, spoke of the plans that were being made for a Henry George Fellowship—a nation-wide organization of those who believe in the teachings of Henry George and want to enlist for action. The Fellowship, they said, was an outgrowth of the student alumnae of the School in New York. On another page of this issue you will find a complete report by Mr. Chodorov of the Fellowship plan and scope.

It should be mentioned that four large posters were prepared by the Foundation and used as display placards at the Convention. One showed all of the tracts and pamphlets printed; another showed reprints and publicity used to attract the interest of outsiders in Henry George's teachings; another showed the extensive advertising placards and campaigns used by the Foundation to encourage bookdealers to stock up with Henry George's books; the last placard showed the many circulars designed and sent out in very large quantities to engage the interest of outsiders. The display was accompanied by a book table, on which every book and pamphlet available from the Foundation and from other organizations, was on sale. The undersigned wishes to acknowledge the kind cooperation of Mr. Mooney and Miss Tideman in helping her to manage the book table for the three days and three evenings of the Conference.

During the time of attendance at Chicago, the office of the Foundation in New York sent out ten thousand copies of Mr. Hennessy's article "One Hundred Years of Land Gambling." Readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will remember that this article appeared in the September-October issue under the caption "An Immensely Im-

portant Book." A further five thousand copies of the article are on order, and if quantities of 50 for \$1 are desired, it may be well to send in quickly, as we are using the pamphlets for special work among new groups and the supply will not last long. The feature which gives it special value is that after its engrossing study of land speculation in Chicago, Chapter IX. points to the Georgist argument, and a quotation from Book V of "Progress and Poverty" shows the importance of the whole land question as related to our present nationwide dilemma. This is followed by a striking advertisement for the Georgist books. Many strangers to our movement have studied this circular, and have thus been led to read George's books. At present the pamphlet is being sent to members of the American Political Science Association.

Among the interesting donations of books are the following: A copy of "The Philosophy of Henry George," and "Moses" were sent to Dr. William Lyon Phelps by our president, supplementing correspondence by Mrs. de Mille with Dr. Phelps. The October *Scribners* contained interesting mention of Dr. Phelps' appreciation of "Moses," and called attention to the Foundation as the place where copies may be had. It should also be stated that Mr. Kelly of Scottsdale, Pa., had entered into correspondence with Dr. Phelps, and that through his efforts, Dr. Phelps wrote a splendid article for the newspapers.

Recently Mr. David Gibson had us send 25 copies of "Progress and Poverty" and 6 copies of "Protection or Free Trade" to the Cleveland Public Library. Paul Bellamy, the son of Edward Bellamy, happens to be an editor on the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and through his efforts, notice was given to the readers of that newspaper of the fact that the books were available to the people of Cleveland. A set of books was sent by the Foundation to the Chicago Public Library.

In September a postcard was addressed to 1,250 well-known book stores, advising of the fact that Ida Tarbell had written an article in the September *Forum* on Henry George, which might send some people into bookstores in search of George's books. We suggested that it would be well if the dealers placed "Progress and Poverty," and "Social Problems" in stock. Mr. David Gibson arranged for an extensive display in two leading bookstores in Cleveland, and twenty-five copies of "Progress and Poverty" were sent to each store.

As may be gathered from these reports, our work is, in the main, educational in character. Experience has shown that the most cogent appeal for the Single Tax, or the Georgist economics, is Henry George's own argument. Therefore we stress the distribution of the books as the surest way to lead newcomers to an understanding of George's essential philosophy and economic programme. You can vastly help this programme by seeing that friends and acquaintances receive some Henry

George books and purchasing them in quantities at special prices for Christmas giving. The Foundation receives your order for books, with the names and addresses of people to whom you want to make gifts, and the books are carefully wrapped, with a Christmas card bearing your greeting. They are then held until a few days before Christmas, and are timed to reach destination the day before Christmas. We have given this special service for years, and hope that as many as can will avail themselves of it, as it is a convenient and happy way of solving the Christmas gift problem for certain good friends who are not near enough, in the sense that relatives are, to receive elaborate gifts, but who would be immensely pleased and interested to receive such a book as "Social Problems," "The Philosophy of Henry George," or "The Prophet of San Francisco." If you have an idea for book gifts that you want the Foundation to help you with, write to us at 11 Park Place, New York. We have attractive and economical assortments to meet your particular need.—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

## A Fundamental Difference

**T**HERE is no evidence at hand to warrant claim that the private ownership of the wealth produced by the individual must be harmful to the community. We have not yet had the full and clear statement of the right relation between community wealth and private wealth. In order to think straight and reach right conclusions the fundamental basis of property must be realized.

Ought not our discussions start from the basis of ownership that should righteously be inherent only in the community? If we recall that immense tracts of land in this country are held by titles derived from grants made by Kings and Queens of England, do we not at once reach the conclusion that such grants were arbitrary and without any moral foundation? Thus we make clear that such rights as private ownership of land has, relate only to the force of tradition recognized through governmental acquiescence in such basis for ownership. The very fact that titles to land are continually disputed, gives the evidence respecting a wrong basis for the present ownership. There is, of course, some moral obligation relating to such legal affirmance of ownership during the centuries but that moral obligation certainly cannot be claimed to be perpetual. The history of communal life the world around and the definite re-constitution of ownership, as decreed by the laws of Moses thousands of years ago, demonstrate the universal recognition of a fundamental difference between landed and personal property. This issue should be thought out by every voter for himself or herself to help toward righteous public opinion.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, in *Saratogian*, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

## No God-Created Monopoly

**W**HATEVER conception we may have of the creation, we cannot honestly believe that this earth was created to be monopolized by one part of the human race, to the exclusion of all others. To believe this is to deny the omniscience of the Creator, as well as the democratic theory of the equal rights of man.

A. H. MCCARTHY in Fort Worth (Texas) *Express*.

EVERY Henry George man should be on our subscription list. Single Tax clubs should see that their members subscribe.

## BOOK REVIEWS

## A WORK THAT IS PROFOUND BUT NOT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND\*

Moral philosophy is not an easy subject but it can be made simple and interesting. This Mr. Lambek has succeeded in doing. But though it is vastly thought-provoking the reader must dig for himself and this is perhaps a necessity for all philosophic thinking.

The author has indicated the danger of the abandonment of self-control, and rejects with proper emphasis a philosophy of life which seizes upon the pleasures of the moment regardless of a regulated moral motive.

Here is what he says on this subject:

"Every day of our lives we sacrifice something in order to gain an advantage later on; but, as it is the individual himself who determines what he will sacrifice, who judges between the cost and the gain, it cannot be said that the moral demand is imposed upon him from outside. It grows up within the individual, and can only be described as a part of the Me, an inner coherence lending it strength and harmony, a consummation of its being."

So much for the influences that should control the conduct of the individual. The author now passes on to a consideration of the social consciousness and its development, and the principles underlying an equitable society. It may be gathered that he starts right in this inquiry for he begins by saying, "Equality is the natural state." Elsewhere he says, "The central point in moral justice is the principle of social equality."

Again we quote:

"The principle of coherence in the production of values demands that the same person who sows the grain shall also reap the harvest."

He lays down four rules for the government of society, among which is that the gifts of nature to mankind should be shared by all. "The values existing in nature can neither be produced by the members of the community, nor can they rightfully be acquired by anybody as his private possession because the values had no former owners from whom he could acquire them."

There are wise words on the subject of competition, income and inheritance taxes, regulation of prices, etc. He also says: "To prohibit interest on capital must be considered a violation of the right of ownership."

We are grateful for this book. Every sentence is weighted with thought. Even where he says: "All is not done by seeing that the annual ground rent is paid into the exchequer; it is also necessary to arrange for the proper use of the revenue, so that it is employed for the benefit of all," we will not quarrel. He does not miss a single point in the great debate to which he has made this very valuable contribution.—J. D. M.

\*"Government by the Principle of Moral Justice," by C. Lambek. Paper, 96 pp. Levin & Munksgaard, Copenhagen, and Williams & Norgate, London.

## AN ATTRACTIVE BOOK\*

In "Twenty Million Dollars Every Day" (the amount of taxes on production paid by the American people) Otto Cullman has presented economic principles in a condensed and interesting form.

He insists that "Consumers, not producers, dominate industry," and that taxes on production to the amount of twenty million dollars every day seriously cripples purchasing power. He further insists that legitimate governmental activities result in market values, and that if the government would collect these sums for its own use, instead of allowing them to be appropriated by private parties in the form of ground rent, it would no longer be necessary to burden industry with the twenty million dollar daily tribute.

In such event he argues that governments would live on their own earnings, and that private producers would enjoy, untaxed, the results of their various enterprises. This would make goods cheap, and thereby enormously increase the purchasing power of the people. In fact, the entire product of industry, including both private and public income, would appear on the market as purchasing power,

thus creating a demand that would absorb all available labor, and raise wages to the highest possible point.

In this connection, he quotes the National Association of Purchasing Agents to the effect that prices in general have not been reduced during the last century; the explanation being that as improved processes have been introduced, that normally would reduce prices, taxes and ground rent have advanced in equal or greater ratio, thus preventing the general enjoyment of the increased productive power. Mr. Cullman therefore urges that: "The machine age has checkmated itself with mass production by failing to secure equivalent consumption at the same time."

The book should be of material aid in convincing supporters of "capitalism" that there is a serious defect in customary capitalistic methods that all clear thinking men and women know are threatened with destruction by private monopoly—not by communism which, in and of itself, is an entirely negligible matter.

It is to be hoped that the book will have a large circulation among business men, to whom its appeal is frank, open and good natured.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

\*\*"\$20,000,000 Every Day, A Plan for National Recovery," by Otto Cullman. Cloth, 67 pp. Price \$1.00.

## BOOKS RECEIVED AND TO BE REVIEWED

Conference Papers at the Edinburgh Conference on "Land Value Taxation."

History of the Movement in Denmark by Fru Signe Bjorner.

## AN EXCELLENT REFERENCE BOOK

The New York Red Book for 1934, edited by James Malcolm, contains portraits and biographies of State officials; returns of national, city and State elections; population of the States; 1930 census by States and counties; new amendments to the State Constitution; a list of former State officials from the beginning of the State Government; home ownership in the United States, and a history of the State Senate.

The volume is an excellent reference book for the press and those interested in governmental affairs.

## Correspondence

## AGREES WITH OUR CRITICISM

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the last number of LAND AND FREEDOM I notice a letter from Mrs. H. J. Bailey, of Omaha, Neb., censuring the editor for too severe criticism of the President, and especially for sending a copy of the letter addressed to Sleepy Garment Mills, Centerville, Mich., to the President. I think the editor did the right thing. The President is surrounded by advisors who tell him only what they think he wants to hear and it is right that he should get the opinions of others.

I think we will hear much harsher criticism before 1936.

Del Piedra, Calif.

S. W. WATERS.

## IS SINGLE TAX INTERDICTED?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I went down and talked before the Mayor on the proposition of a one per cent tax on land, without considering improvements. I also stated that many people have forgotten Henry George, the man who ran for Mayor of the City of New York. LaGuardia replied he hadn't forgotten and he often thinks about him. I told him that many of his cabinet are in favor of Single Tax but they did not talk about it before they were appointed to office as they thought it was not the time, and since being appointed to office they do not talk about it because it would not be becoming, and that the real explanation, however, is that they did not have the courage then, and they do not have the courage now. I thought it best not to ask the Mayor whether he personally believed in a tax on land. I think now I should have, and here's a curious ending. Not a single newspaper mentioned I had ever spoken or that I had proposed a tax on land. The same

thing happened last year at another hearing, the newspapers carefully refraining from saying that Henry H. Klein talked on taxing the public utilities and giving facts and figures, and they did not mention my talk. I wonder if there is any way of finding out whether they have a definite rule in the newspaper offices that taxation of land values must not be mentioned.

N. Y. City.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

### THE MICHIGAN ELECTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The election in Michigan was not exactly a display of an intelligent use of the ballot. The intelligent voter, if any, had little opportunity for such display. Probably no candidate of the major parties deserved to win, so in regard to them the result gives Single Taxers nothing to rejoice or grieve about. Two proposed constitutional amendments were defeated which should have won. One repealed the sales tax so far as it falls upon food. The other forbade further increase in automobile taxes. Both were too sensible for a legislature to submit and were put on the ballot through the initiative. They were defeated chiefly through the efforts of the real estate racketeers and their demagogic false cry of "Don't exempt wealth." However, the measures were so timidly drawn and so full of flaws that while their adoption would have been an encouraging gesture it would have been little more. Another measure defeated contained an excellent provision for classification of property for taxation. But it was coupled with an income tax provision which made its defeat most desirable. Strange to say the Single Tax idea of property classification was inserted for the purpose of securing exemption of land values from taxation.

As elsewhere politics in Michigan is a contest between blunderers and plunderers. The winner in the senatorship contest, Senator Vandenburg, opposes the blundering New Deal but favors the plundering tariff. His defeated opponent, Picard, promised to be a rubber stamp for the blundering Roosevelt administration, including naturally its plundering tariff policy and subservient complacency with a plundering land system. In the governorship contest an eminently respectable blunderer, Judge Lacy, was defeated by a similar blunderer named Fitzgerald, largely through doublecrossing of Lacy by Jim Farley's local representative, Abbott. Both candidates timidly favored repeal of the larceny known as sales tax so far as it falls on food but opposes stopping the robbery of purchasers of other things.

Of course, the present super-blundering Governor Comstock had much to do with discrediting the Democrats and encouraging the Republicans. He afflicted the State with the sales tax and was consequently beaten for renomination at the primaries by Judge Lacy. He was favorite however, of Abbott's, who revenged his loss of a renomination by stabbing Lacy in the back.

Detroit, Mich.

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

### MORE OF LINCOLN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In Lincoln biography by John Wesley Hill, (Putnam's 1920) are some interesting items.

1.—A four-page statement by Dr. Gulliver of an extended talk with Lincoln on his search for truth and for skill in demonstration. (Pages 28-30.)

2.—Mention of the fact that Dr. Robert Browne, the author of the two-volume book that has been quoted from in support of certain ideas of Lincoln on the land question, was "on terms of intimacy with Lincoln and shared a degree of his confidence which was given to few men."

3.—A story about Lincoln and the tariff. When he was asked for an opinion, Lincoln concluded mention of an incident which occurred in a grocery store where he was a clerk, by saying, "So it is with the tariff. Somebody loses; but I do not know as yet just who it is."

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

*The Crusader*, edited by M. L. Kathan, of Orphir, Ore., a new periodical in pamphlet form, 16 pages and cover, is issued monthly and is full of interesting matter. It can be had for one dollar a year or ten cents a copy. Sample copy will be sent on request.

J. P. KOHLER, of Coral Gables, Fla., is everlastingly busy in the good work. In October he addressed the Citizens Labor Forum and the Apartment House Association. Mr. Kohler writes us: "I am getting in some good work here. The town is dead broke, 28,000 unemployed and 180,000 vacant lots being sold for taxes." The Miami press is very generous to Mr. Kohler and publishes literal reports of his lectures.

We have received a pamphlet entitled "Principles of the Baha'i Faith," from Dr. W. B. Guy of St. Augustine, Fla. Dr. Guy writes us: "I am thoroughly in harmony with your ideals. Your movement is also in harmony with the Baha'i movement. The rent of land which the Creator gave to his creatures should pay all the needs of government. Why make God's gift a source of graft, injustice and profit?"

WILLIAM MATTHEWS, of Spokane, Wash., has begun his fall classes in economics and sends us a programme of his courses. He quotes from the Constitution of the State the following: "A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the security of individual rights and the perpetuation of free government."

JAMES B. ELLERY has an excellent Single Tax letter in Gloucester, Mass., *Daily Times*.

CHARLES LEBARON GOELLER has completed the issuance of 250,000 tracts.

*The Dallas Journal* of Dallas, Texas, prints a letter from W. V. Howerton, of Austin, Texas, in which Mr. Howerton in an effort to enlighten a correspondent quotes at some length Dr. McGlynn's statement of his faith to the Catholic doctors at Washington. Mr. Howerton comments on a statement of the correspondent whom he is answering who says: "The cosmopolitan wearers of the rosary returned quietly to the poetry of socialistic Catholicism." To this Mr. Howerton replies very properly: "The statement carries unjust implications regarding the church."

OUR old friend Frank G. Anderson, of Jamestown, N. Y., was 77 years old on Oct. 5. His birthday was observed informally. Few among our ranks have been more devoted or more active in the good work.

*The State Journal* of Lansing, Mich., prints a well written defence of the Single Tax from Ray Robson.

HENRY L. TIDEMAN, of Chicago, writes: "The review by Chas O'Connor Hennessy of Homer Hoyt's book in September-October LAND AND FREEDOM is a charmingly good job. I can testify that Mr. Hoyt is not unfriendly to the Single Tax though not an avowed advocate."

ON Sept. 23 (Sunday) Mrs. Anna George de Mille addressed a Single Tax meeting at the Moonlight Theatre at Arden, Del. Her speech was broadcast. Frank Stephens presided and Dr. Henry George and Prof. H. W. Hetzel also spoke. Mrs. de Mille dwelt upon the importance of the work of the Henry George School and paid a glowing tribute to the character and work of Oscar Geiger.

ON Sept. 10 death claimed the beloved wife of E. B. Gaston, editor of the *Fairhope Courier*. Mrs. Gaston was born in 1862. She was

married to Mr. Gaston in 1887. Their five children are married and are all residents of Fairhope. The Gastons have many friends and we are sure that the sympathy aroused by their bereavement will be nation-wide.

In our review of Harry Weinberger's "Liberty of the Press" in our September-October issue we omitted to mention the name of the publisher. It is the Oriole Press, Berkeley Heights, N. J.

COMMENTING on the offer of a brokerage firm in New York offering money at two per cent a year. H. C. Maguire of this city comments as follows: "There is no money question. You can get money for almost nothing if you offer safety for the principal. What we need is opportunity to produce."

MR. CHAS. G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati, writes: "I started to read the September-October number of LAND AND FREEDOM last evening and I congratulate you on the excellent editorial features." Mr. Merrell has written an admirable letter to Roger Babson who comments in a friendly way on Henry George and his teachings.

We deeply regret to chronicle the death of Francis W. Maguire, of Pittsburgh, devoted veteran of the movement and popularly known in that city as dispenser of Single Tax literature over a number of years. Two months ago his health began to fail. He went to a hospital and all hope for his recovery was abandoned. He was devoted to Mayor McNair and there was an affectionate relation between the two. He was 83 years old and his death was due to the infirmities of age. Mr. Maguire lived with a niece, Ella Anderson, who was at his bedside when the end came. He had given nearly fifty years of his life to service for the cause and his one great joy was in promoting the movement which to him was the greatest on earth.

REV. MERVYN J. STEWART, of Bishop's Stortford, England, writes: "We are in all the world deeply indebted to you for your gallant persistence with LAND AND FREEDOM. The cost of absurd elections might be far better given to you for paper and ink." Which, of course, is a matter of opinion.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM in a recent article on the efforts of the National Real Estate Boards to secure the adoption in every State of constitutional limitations on real estate taxes, comments as follows: "Unless the reduction is made on that part of real estate which human labor has created or may create in the future, the chief beneficiaries of such limitation would obviously be not tenants or prospective home-owners but landowners and real estate speculators."

THE Auckland, New Zealand, *Star* says in an editorial on Sir George Fowlds: "Sir George was a practical idealist in a truly Christian spirit, and the influence of such a man operates long after he is no more."

VIRGIL D. ALLEN, of Cleveland, O., and a group surrounding him have started to organize the Single Taxers of that State into a statewide organization to be known as the Economic League of Ohio. C. Lincoln of Cleveland is president and the goal set is 10,000 members in five years.

AMONG pamphlets received are "The Fable of the Loaded Dice," published by H. A. Jackson, of Los Angeles and presumably written by him; "Our Golden Calf," by S. S. Taber, of San Diego, Calif.; "Eulogy-Stoughton Cooley," by his daughter, Norma Cooley, and "The Associated Forums" which is at once a prospectus and account of the great work of Dr. Roman in California.

An admirable letter appears in the *New York Times* of recent date

from our old friend Julian P. Hickok of Philadelphia and its title is "The Nature of Land Explained."

E. C. RIEGEL of 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City, whose "Roosevelt Revalued," was noticed in our September-October number has supplemented this searching pamphlet with three others, "Are You Better Off," "Franklinstein," and "Brain Trusters." The set may be secured for forty cents or ten cents each, and are worth anybody's four dimes.

MAYOR MCNAIR, of Pittsburgh, Pa., has secured two signal triumphs. One was before the Rotary Club of Washington, Pa. A letter from the secretary William H. Dancher says: "I have heard many favorable comments from those who heard you yesterday." Another was a meeting in Pittsburgh at which opposing candidates spoke. The meeting was quite informal. The Republican candidate for Attorney-General prefaced his speech with the statement that it was "the most remarkable political gathering ever held in America." The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* in an editorial entitled "The Mayor's Meeting," said: "The Mayor's refusal to treat city jobs as so much patronage to be handed out at the demand of ward leaders seemed to have won for him the very real loyalty of those in the hall."

*The Roman Forum* is a beautifully printed large eight-page paper. The number for October is before us. It contains a vastly interesting account of the trip to Geneva made by Dr. Frederick W. Roman. Dr. Roman surveys the world almost literally "from China to Peru," in an interesting recital of events occurring and to come, the latter based of course on the observation of trends visible to this keen-minded thinker. Dr. Roman's address is 214 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, Calif., and our readers should send one dollar for a year's subscription to this important publication, which is *sui generis*.

WALDO J. WERNICKE, of Los Angeles, informs us of the death of Archie V. Hahn of that city. Mr. Hahn was a veteran Single Taxer and long a subscriber to this paper. Mr. Hahn was born near Shelbyville, Ind., in 1862. He was a member of the California Commonwealth Land Party. Mr. Wernicke pays an eloquent tribute to his departed friend, and quotes the following lines the origin of which he does not give and which are unknown to us:

"Never the spirit was born, the spirit shall cease to be never,  
Never was time it was not, end and beginning are dreams,  
Birthless and deathless and changeless, remaineth the spirit,  
forever,  
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems."

WALTER FAIRCHILD, Secretary of the Association for Scientific Taxation, in a letter to the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors makes the following suggestions:

"In other words, we recommend that the county grant use and occupation of lots with assured tenure for a period, say, of ninety-nine years, on a basis of payment equivalent to the ground rent of the lot. The rate normally would be five per cent of the capital value of the lot. A lot appraised at \$100 would pay annually to the county \$5.00. The purchaser would not be required to put up any capital but would be entitled to tenure so long as the annual rate was paid. The rate would be determined each year by the official assessment or appraisal by the county of the lot.

This payment of an annual rate based on full value should be in lieu of all other real estate taxes. This would encourage the building of homes in Suffolk County. It would also eliminate the speculation in vacant lots, a racket which has done much to injure Suffolk County.

The increase in land value resulting from county improvements would by this plan accrue to the county and would not be sacrificed to the exploitation of vacant land speculators."

*The Harvard Hillside*, of Harvard, Mass., in its issue of Oct. 27 publishes Mr. Fiske Warren's address on the Enclaves delivered at the Henry George Congress.

PROF. HARRY GUNNISON BROWN in a recent debate with Missouri's Socialist candidate for governor, declared: "If a worker denies himself in order to save \$300 and turns it over to productive capital which supports others and produces more capital, he is entitled to just as much for his saving as for his labor." He explained that the income from land rent which is the result of the growth of the community should be taken by the community. "To give a man wealth," said Prof. Brown, "because he happens to own a strategically located piece of land is as absurd as allowing some one a profit on the air we breathe."

WE are reminded that Howell Clopton Harris, of Cordele, Ga., has not relaxed in his activities, by the receipt of an excellent four-page leaflet entitled "The Social Democracy."

IN the *Hartford Courant* of Hartford, Conn., for Oct. 18, Joseph R. Carroll takes a column to analyze the thirty-hour week proposal and incidentally present our argument as the only real remedy.

WE are indebted to H. T. Hodgkiss, of Melbourne, Australia, for a number of copies of his leaflet, "How to Secure a Just Distribution of Wealth."

CHAS. G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati in a recent letter to Roger Babson wrote:

"I have come of late to feel that political parties have become a fetish rather than a means expressing various opinions. If we are to have a genuine Democratic government in the future, there must be a new alignment of party. Above all there must be on the part of the people as a whole a greater loyalty to the country rather than to political parties; in other words political parties should be the means by which people can express their opinions rather than the god before which they bow in blind obedience."

ON June 14 of this year the Argentine Single Tax League completed the twentieth year of its existence.

AN advance copy of a publication from the Chemical Foundation, *The Farm Chemurgie* by Dr. William J. Hale, contains the following on page 88:

"In a sense the State and Federal Governments, in their greed to tax all tangible property to the utmost, are doing not otherwise than attacking the goose that lays the golden eggs. Microscopic life within the soil is made to suffer by neglect; microscopic life above the soil is given carte blanche to destroy all that man produces! Our sottish officialdom should certainly tax air, water and sunlight, then their folly would be consummated. No longer does normal man question the utter stupidity that characterizes our would-be leaders; no longer does he doubt the bitter gloom and despair that is likely to overtake us if we do not purge our ways."

IN *The New Philosophy*, a small magazine published at Bryn Athyn, Pa., the editor, Rev. Alfred Acton, writes a review of Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform" and says:

"In this work, Prof. Brown expounds his subject in the light of the Single Tax doctrine. In effect it may be called a new statement of that doctrine with especial application to the problems of today. The author's thoughts are set forth in clear language and with convincing illustrations. No better work could be recommended for one who would understand the principles first set forth by Henry George a half century ago."

A MATHEU ALONSO, of Salamanca, Spain, whose brief visit recently to our shores is pleasantly remembered, writes us with his customary fine cordiality: "My visit will probably be very fruitful. I am trying to found a Henry George School here like that of the late Oscar Geiger. The director will be our president Mr. Argente. This will be the first daughter of yours. I hope that some time we will meet again but meanwhile keep this souvenir of your new friend and fellow, A. Matheu Alonso."

THE late R. R. Bowker, editor for many years of the *Publishers' Weekly*, was long a friend of this paper and a contributor to its up-keep. He was known as a convinced Georgist. The editors of the *Publishers' Weekly* are planning to issue a bibliography of his various writings which he contributed so largely to newspapers and periodicals.

MAYOR McNAIR's appointment of a Catholic priest to serve on the Municipal Board of Assessors of Pittsburgh caused a dispute as to the propriety of a priest serving in such capacity. Mayor McNair solved the question by taking a trip to Rome and getting the Holy Father's decision on the point at issue. The Pope informed him that it was not against the canon law for a priest to accept a municipal post so long as the position does not require the handling of public moneys. So Father Cox, who is well thought of in Pittsburgh, was straightway appointed. Mayor McNair has a way with him and knows how to dramatize a political situation as well as how to close the mouths of his critics. This settles a question which may come up before other municipalities.

HENRY PRIESMEYER, of St. Louis, writes: "I always find enjoyment when reading your Comment and Reflection and find much of it which appeals to me as fitting to send to someone who I believe might be interested in having the chance to read them. I was pleased to read what you set forth on page 133 of your September-October number on Who is the Employer? and What is a Fair Day's Pay for a Living Wage? which are so clearly defined and explained by you and which I consider very timely."

THE Henry George League of New Jersey will hold a dinner on Thursday, Dec. 6, at which dinner Dr. John Dewey will be guest speaker.

EUGENE W. WAY, of Seattle, Wash., writes: "LAND AND FREEDOM is doing a wonderful work. While everything in it, from cover to cover, is excellent Comment and Reflection is a gold mine of fact, logic and hard common sense."

CHARLES G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati, in a letter to the *Cincinnati Post* commending an editorial in that paper says: "We should leave our tax machinery as flexible as possible so that we can meet emergencies that confront us without being bound hand and foot by constitutional amendments that have no place in the constitution."

THE late Francis W. Maguire, of Pittsburgh, Pa., was a pensioner of the firm of Sprague Warner & Company, for whom he worked for a number of years. They say of him: "His record of twenty-eight years of loyal service was free from blot. He was scrupulously honest and unfailingly industrious."

It is with sorrow that we record the death of Baron Henri Lambert at the home of his son Valentine in Brussels, Belgium, aged 71 years. He was the author of "Tax Economica" and other works showing the dangers involved in international commercial barriers and the advantages that all nations might enjoy under commercial liberty. In May, 1914, he addressed in Basle, Switzerland, an informal and unofficial gathering of sundry members of the German Reichstag and the French Chamber of Deputies who had journeyed there to discuss ways and means to avert the impasse into which the nations were drifting. "It is trade restriction which is shutting all countries from their place in the sun," he told them. "Cobden has told us that free trade is the best peacemaker. I make bold to assert that free trade is the *only* peacemaker." Though of the Belgian nobility, M. Lambert disdained to use his title of Baron, preferring that of Engineer and Fabricant (manufacturer). His visit to this office many years ago is pleasantly remembered.

WE are indebted to Mrs. Mary Fels and Mrs. Laura Lubin for

for a copy of "The Fascist Era, Year 12," which is a resume of the history of fascism in Italy for the twelve years of its existence.

In the Schenectady, (N.Y.) *Gazette*, our old friend William W. Munro has a good letter referring to political and economic trends. He concludes: "Sorry, but I do not look for much advancement as a result of the elections." And he was not disappointed!

GORDON ANDERSON standing for Wimera, Australia, in the Federal elections on an out-and-out free trade and Single Tax platform was defeated, but over 7,800 out of 46,000 responded with their first vote to the new call for social righteousness

WE have received from Spain in pamphlet form an address by Fernando Gil Mariscal, attorney at Madrid, read before the Economic Society of that city on the occasion of his reception as a new member. It is an eloquent and thorough presentation of the philosophy of Henry George and a tribute to the Spanish leaders of the Georgist movement, Julio Senador Gomez, the late Antonio Albendin and particularly Baldomera Argente. Senor Mariscal gave his audience a picture of the dreadful condition of the worker brought about by our land system. Then he proceeded to give a clear exposition of the doctrines of Henry George, quoting freely from his works and showed how the application of these doctrines would permanently solve the labor problem, raise wages and bring peace and prosperity to all. The address makes a fine 40-page pamphlet and is dedicated to all those who sincerely work for social justice. Senor Mariscal, who is the author of a number of works, is to be congratulated for this addition to Single Tax literature.

THE October number of *Le Libre-Exchange*, the monthly bulletin of the French Free Trade League, contains many interesting articles from R. Levraut, Jacques Robin, A. Daude-Bancel and A. Naugaret. This interesting bulletin now in its twenty-fourth year gives in its notes and information a mass of data bearing on current events in the world of international trade, with many an object lesson demonstrating the stupidity of tariffs.

WE have received the October number of *La Reforma Social*, monthly organ of the Spanish Georgist League of Madrid, whose director, Baldemero Argente, is well known to our readers. Besides editorials and articles by Senor Argente, Rafael Orchoa, and Emilio Ramos Ortega, this excellent publication gives the news of the movement from all parts of the world. To look at these twenty-four pages of Henry George teachings so forcefully presented one cannot but feel that the Georgist movement in Spain is on the way to great achievement.

THE *Tribuna Georgista* of Buenos Aires, makes this comment: "The land of the Argentine, without including improvements by labor and capital, is over thirty thousand million pesos. The rent, at six per cent, would be 1,800 million pesos. The government of the nation, provinces and municipalities of the whole country do not collect and expend more than 1,500 millions of pesos annually. It is thus demonstrated that, under applied Georgism, all government expenditure could be financed and yet leave an annual remainder of 300 million pesos."

ON Oct. 14 memorial services were held for our late friend Mark J. Dintenfass at the Ferncliff Mausoleum, Charles H. Ingersoll and others spoke. We have received a beautifully printed programme of the memorial exercises, with the following from our friend's last testament. This confession of faith is very beautifully expressed: I wish that no one put on the habiliments of mourning for me. While I love flowers as I do all the beauties which come from nature, I desire that no flowers or set pieces be present at my bier.

My religion is the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." I believe in God (Spirit all pervading).

I reject the dogmas and implications of organized religion, for they omit, in my opinion, the principle and fundamental truth—the word of God.

For the Lord saith: "The earth is mine and the fullness thereof, and should not be sold forever." Although men traffic in God's earth, and one creature of the earth exacts tribute from another for the permission of living on the earth, organized religion remains silent.

Therefore, I ask my beloved wife, Esther Dintenfass, to omit clerical officiating and eulogizing. Should my dear wife desire otherwise it shall be as she desires.

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1934.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Business Manager: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., Herman G. Loew, Pres., George R. Macey, Sec., 150 Nassau Street, New York City. None but Joseph Dana Miller own one per cent. or more of stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stocks, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,  
EDITOR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1934.  
[Seal] MICHAEL WEINER, Notary Public.  
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